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THE LITURGICAL SINGING OF WOMEN IN CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY

ONE of the most interesting features of ancient Christian liturgy is its attitude toward the singing of women. The development which took place in this regard during the first centuries of the Christian era cannot be understood without the cultural background.

In heathen worship women's song played an important part. In Egypt at a comparatively early date women entered the ranks of the priestly singers of the gods. On a stele (Cairo 20026) dating from the time of the Middle Kingdom, "men and women singers of the temple" are mentioned as being found in all the temples and in countless numbers.[1] Women and girls from the various ranks of society were proud to enter the service of the gods as singers or musicians. The characterization of this service itself was singular: they constituted the "harem of the gods".[2]

The Greeks make special mention of women choirs in the procession held in honor of the gods. On the occasion of the sacrifice held in Delos during the season of spring, women choirs were present to sing the praises of the gods.[3] In the sanctuary of Eileithyia at Olympia virgins and matrons sang a hymn in honor

[1] Cf. F. Zimmermann, *Die ägyptische Religion nach der Darstellung der Kirchenschriftsteller und die ägyptischen Denkmäler* (Paderborn, 1912), 151.

[2] A. Erman and H. Ranke, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum* (Tübingen, 2nd ed., 1923), 335.

[3] *Hymni Homerici* I (in Apollinem Delium), 156 (8, ed. Baumeister).

of the goddess.[4] In preference to all other hymns, women choirs generally sang the so-called epiphany-hymns: those hymns that were intended to invite the god to appear. Plutarch says:[5] "Why do the women of Elis call upon God to come near to them with the bull's foot? Their song is the following:

> Come into the holy temple of Elis
> O Dionysos, Hero and God,
> Enter raging into the temple together with the Graces
> With the foot of the bull!

Then, as a close they twice sing: 'Sacred Bull'."

In Ionia and on the islands of the Aegean women dressed in festive apparel wandered about begging, singing meanwhile, as Herodotus informs us,[6] the song composed by the Lycian Olen in order to call down the goddesses Opis and Arge.

In Rome the choirs of women participating in heathen cults were no less numerous. In a description of the religious rites and practices of the Salians, the Roman lexicographer Festus[7] mentions that a choir of young girls clad in ritual garments were consecrated to the gods in order to perform dances at the sacrifices. Women choirs are nearly always mentioned in connection with Roman processions, whether of expiation or petition.[8]

[4] Pausanias, 6, 20, 3 (II, 146, ed. Spiro).

[5] Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, 36, 299 (II 339, 13, ed. Bernardakis). Cf. Diodorus, 4, 3, 2f. For the hymn see L. Weniger, "Das Kollegium der sechzehn Frauen und der Dionysosdienst in Elis," in: *Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Weimar* (1833), 8; F. Schwenn, *Gebet und Opfer, Studien zum griechischen Kultus* (*Religionswissenschaftliche Bibliothek*, begr. von W. Streitberg, 8, Heidelberg, 1927), 8.

[6] Herodotus, 4, 35 (I 295, 25, ed. Stein).

[7] Festus, *De verborum significatu*, s.v. *Salias virgines* (439, 18, ed. Lindsay): Salias virgines Cincius ait esse conducticias, quae ad Salios adhibeantur cum apicibus paludatas, quas Aelius Stilo scripsit sacrificium facere in Regia cum pontifice paludatas cum apicibus in modum Saliorum. Cf. R. Cirilli, *Les prêtres danseurs de Rome, Étude sur la corporation sacerdotale des Saliens* (Paris, 1913), 78.

[8] Macrobius, *Saturnaliorum* 1, 6, 14 (25, 5, ed. Eyssenhardt): acta igitur obsecratio est pueris ingenuis itemque libertinis sed et virginibus patrimis matrimisque pronuntiantibus carmen: ex quo concessum ut libertinorum quoque filii, qui ex iusta dumtaxat matrefamilias nati fuissent, togam praetextam et lorum in collo pro bullae decore gestarent. Cf. Livy, 27, 37, 7f.; 31, 12, 9f.

On particular occasions the Sibylline Books demanded that choirs of chosen virgins and chaste boys sing the *carmen* to the god. So Horace informs us in *Carmen saeculare*, 4-8:

Tempore sacro
Quod Sibyllini monuere versus
Virgines lectas puerosque castos
Dis quibus septem placuere colles,
Dicere carmen.

According to Livy 27, 37, the rite of the Sibyls prescribed thrice nine virgins to lead the singing of the petitions at the expiatory processions through the city of Rome.[9]

Women choirs were no less active in the divine worship of the Jews. At the thanksgiving service after the liberation from the bondage of Egypt we find Miriam directing the choir of the women[10] (Exod. 15:20-21). At the yearly solemnity of the Lord in Silo the daughters of Israel took part in the feast with singing and dancing (Judg. 21:21). Philo tells of a similar activity on the part of women in the singing at divine worship in the communities of the Therapeutae. He describes the services conducted on vigils as follows:

> After the repast they conduct the evening service. Arising in unison two choirs form in the center of the banquet hall, one of men, the other of women. The most prudent and tactful is chosen as the director and the chanter of each choir. They then sing hymns to God composed in diverse meters and of a great variety of melodies, sometimes in unison, sometimes alternately. At the same time they move their hands rhythmically and dance and call on God in the songs they sing to Him: songs of festive pilgrimages, then songs for the choirs, alternating by choirs according to strophes and antistrophes.[11]

What is the attitude of Christianity toward the singing of women in divine worship? In the first two centuries we hear little of any participation on the part of women in the singing of the congre-

[9] Cf. F. J. Dölger, *Sol salutis* (Münster, 2nd ed., 1925), 88 and 95.

[10] Philo, *De vita Moysis* 1, 180 (163, 13, ed. Cohn).

[11] Philo, *De vita contemplativa* 11, 83 (VI 68, 17, ed. Cohn-Reiter). For the relations of the Therapeutic communities to the ancient societies of prophets in Israel, cf. H. Junker, *Prophet und Seher in Israel* (Trier, 1927), 19 f.

gation. Yet undoubtedly women had a part in the singing at divine worship. An exclusion of women would have stood in very sharp contrast to the note of the communion of souls which Ignatius of Antioch had sounded so strongly and which was so vivid an idea among the Fathers of the first centuries. This community of souls was embodied in congregational singing where "all sing as with one mouth", as it is stated repeatedly. The power of petition of such song in the sight of God lies precisely in this, that *all* take part in it. Ignatius of Antioch [12] writes in his *Letter to the Ephesians*: "But all of you as individuals should be made into one choir, so that sounding in harmony, singing the song of God in unison, you may sing praise to the Father through Jesus Christ, that He may hear you". At a later period Chrysostom [13] complained that this inner worth of community singing had been lost. He writes in his *Thirty-sixth Homily on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*:

> Shall I name still another treasure chest that has been despoiled of its former beauty? In former times all came together to sing the Psalms in common. We no longer do so. Formerly all were one heart and one soul. Today we can no longer find such harmony of soul, but everywhere there is a notable discord.

He then speaks of talking in church and continues:

> But can you not be silent in church? Then go outside, so as not to injure others. For in church only one voice should ever be heard, as though there were only one body. For that reason the lector alone speaks, and even the bishop sits silent and attentive. Then the chanter sings alone; when all join him in the response it is as though only one voice were sounding.

Just because of this κοινωνία of souls, a contemporary of St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose [14], defends the participation of women in the singing at Christian worship. Taking the Apostle's *mulier taceat in ecclesia* into account he remarks:

[12] Ignatius of Antioch, *Epistula ad Ephesios* 4 (I 83, 27, ed. Funk-Bihlmeyer).
[13] John Chrysostom, *Homilia 36 in Epist. I ad Corinthios* (PG, 61, 313).
[14] Ambrosius, *In Psalm.* I (PL 14, 925).

> The Apostle commands that women should be silent in church. However, they may sing the Psalms. Every age and sex is capable and fitted for the singing of the Psalms. In this singing, old men lay aside the overbearing rigor of old age; the middle aged respond in the cheerfulness of their heart; young men sing them without peril to their still unstable manhood; boys sing them together without fear of lust or the temptation to pleasure. Tender maidens suffer no damage to their becoming modesty; virgins and widows let their rich voices ring out without endangering their chastity.

He gives this as the explanation:

> For it is a powerful bond of unity when so large a number of people unite together in one choir. The strings of the zither are of unequal length, yet they all sound in harmony. Even though an instrument has only a small number of strings, the practiced hand still sometimes mistakes its touch. In community singing, however, the Holy Ghost, as the Artist, permits no dissonance.

So far mention has been made of women taking part in the singing of the community. We know too of complete choirs of virgins founded by St. Ephraem for the singing of hymns at divine worship. A century earlier Paul of Samosata had introduced this same innovation. In Eusebius[15] it is said of him:

> The hymns in honor of our Lord Jesus Christ he set aside as too new and known by too few of the older men. For his own glorification he had women sing hymns in the middle of the assembly on the first Easter Day. The very sound of this must have provoked a shudder.

Of Ephraem something similar is told: "In Edessa he started sodalities, taught the members the Madraschê; ... they assembled in church on the feasts of the Lord, on Sundays, and feasts of the martyrs".[16] It was through the singing of hymns and the activity of their choirs of women that the heretics Bardesanes and Harmonius obtained so great a following. Ephraem was only able to combat this danger by having hymns sung by women choirs. We are told of this in an excerpt from a certain anonymous writer in Assemani:

[15] Eusebius, *Historia eccles.* 7, 30, 10 (GCS II, 2, 710, ed. Schwartz). Cf. the *Letters of the Popes*, 3rd Synod of Antioch, chap. 2 (Mansi I, 1095), and the *History of the Patriarchs* (PO 1, 194, ed. Evetts).

[16] O. Braun, *Buch der Synhados* (Stuttgart, 1900), 341. For the meaning of *Madrasche* = "hymns" and *Memre* = "metric orations", cf. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur,* IV (Freiburg, 1924), 344.

> When St. Ephraem saw how all were being torn away through their songs [of the heretics], and as he wanted to keep his own people from worldly and dishonorable plays and concerts, he himself founded choirs of consecrated virgins; he taught them the hymns and responses which were so rich in doctrine concerning the birth of Christ, his baptism, his fasting, suffering, resurrection, and ascension, as also concerning the martyrs and the dead. These consecrated virgins came to the church on feasts of our Lord and those of the martyrs, as also on Sundays. He himself was in their midst as their father and the zither player of the Holy Ghost. He taught them music and the laws of song.[17]

There is still another way in which women shared in the singing during the celebration of divine worship. It is well known that the singing of the Psalms was practiced diligently in the convents of women.[18] Religious women from the fourth century on take part in the singing of the Psalms in the municipal church of the city. Maruta of Maipherkat (second half of the fourth century) says: "It is the will of the general synod that municipal churches should not be without this class of sisters. They shall have a diligent teacher to instruct them in reading and especially in psalmody. This is decreed by the synod without anathema".[19] These sisters recited the Psalms in common with the brothers in the municipal church. Maruta gives this direction to the bishop:

> Let him diligently attend to all that pertains to divine worship. Let him see for himself how the brothers and sisters perform the external ceremonies in the temple, so that they do not perform any heretical canons out of ignorance or that their service become disreputable and disordered; or lest they hurry or swallow words, but that in their psalmody everything be fulfilled; he shall see to it that they do not miss the services while they live from the *congrua* of the church.[20]

[17] Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, I (Romae, 1720), 47-48. Cf. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum*, III (Paris, 1893), 653. J. Jéannin, *Mélodies liturgiques syriennes et chaldéennes* (Paris, 1922), 144, remarks that Assemani's translation, *inhonestis lusibus choreisque*, is not exact. The original text says: "Dances accompanied by timbrels".

[18] Cf. S. Schiewitz, *Das morgenländische Mönchtum, II* (Mainz, 1913), 179.

[19] O. Braun, *Marutha von Maipherkat, De sancta Nicaena synodo* can. 41 (*Kirchengeschichtliche Studien*, IV, 3, Münster, 1898), 87.

[20] *Ibid.*, can. 60, p. 101.

A still clearer testimony for this is to be found in the words of the Gallican pilgrim Aetheria (c. 386). She thus describes the morning service in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem:

> Every day before the crowing of the cock, as the gates of the Anastasis are opened, all the monks and virgins, or as we say here, the *monozantes* and *parthenas* descend. However, not merely they, but lay people, men and women as well . . . from that hour until the break of day, hymns and Psalms are chanted in alternate chant. So too are the antiphons. After the single hymns a prayer is said.[21]

As late as the year 676, in a Nestorian synod of Mar George I rules were laid down for the clothes and head dress of these consecrated sisters. In the ninth canon of this synod it is decreed: "The women who have chosen this vocation of virginity should be distinguished by their clothing and the mode of wearing their hair. Particularly must they learn to recite the Psalms, to care for divine worship, and to take notice of the time when they must sing the *Madrasche*".[22] The singing of the *Madrasche* or hymns seems to have been reserved to the sisters having vows. Whereas the brothers with vows learn merely the Psalms, the sisters must also practice hymns.[23] This was an innovation of Ephraem, a practice that soon spread to all the larger municipal churches.

In contrast to this, the singing of Psalms by women is mentioned frequently. The Syrian poet Cyrellonas in a hymn of petition written for the Feast of All Saints of the year 396 says: "Behold, hymns are voiced by the tongues of children, and women sing Thy Psalms".[24] In the *Church History* of Theodoret of Cyrus a certain Publia is mentioned:

> She had a choir of virgins [we are told] who were praiseworthy for their life-long virginity. With them she ceaselessly praised God the creator and preserver of all things. At the time when the Emperor Julian died they sang more loudly than was customary, for they despised the evil doer and held him in contempt. They sang those songs most often in which the weakness of idols is mocked, as they said with

[21] *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* 24, 1 (CSEL 39, 71, 12 ff., ed. Geyer).

[22] J. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil des Synodes Nestoriens* (Paris, 1902), 486.

[23] C. Kayser, *Die Canones Jakobs von Edessa* (Leipzig, 1886), 111.

[24] Bickell-Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften der syrischen Dichter* (*Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*) 6 (Kempten, 1913), 20.

> David: 'The idols of the Gentiles are silver and gold, the works of the hands of men. Let them that make them, and place their trust in them, become like unto them (Ps. 113: 4, 8)'.[25]

While the passage just quoted is concerned with the singing of women in conventual life, the so-called Testament of Our Lord, which in its present form dates back to the fifth century, plainly speaks of the singing of women in church. There we read: "To the one who leads the singing in the church, the virgins and the boys should reply in psalmody".[26] Virgins did not only have a part in the common singing of the congregation, they also acted as the chanters: "They are to sing Psalms and four canticles: one of Moses, one of Solomon, the others from the Prophets. The children, two virgins, three deacons, and three presbyters shall do the singing".[27] This practice is understandable, when we further learn in the Arabic version of the *Canons of the Apostles*[28] that the duties of the lectorate could be performed by them and in fact was permitted to them. In this work we find the enumeration of deaconesses, subdeaconesses, and lectresses. One and the same person frequently performed the offices both of the chanter and of the lector, as was quite natural in the smaller churches.[29] It is entirely plausible that the lectresses were also chanters, especially since ecclesiastical singing in ancient times approximated a recitative reading. In this sense the 52nd canon of the Arabic Canons of the Apostles is to be understood in which the children are directed to the ambo on which the lectress exercises her office.[30] In the so-called Testament of Our Lord, *pueruli* and *duae virgines* are

[25] Theodoret, *Historia eccles.* 3, 19, 2 (GCS 197, 18, ed. Parmentier).

[26] *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi* II, 22 (143, ed. Rahmani).

[27] *Ibid.*, I, 26 (55, ed. Rahmani).

[28] *Les Canons des Apôtres* (Texte Arabe) can. 53 (PO 8, 639, ed. Perier): *Quant aux diaconesses, aux sous-diaconesses et aux lectrices, nous nous sommes déjà exprimés à leur sujet.*

[29] Cf. Sozomen, *Historia eccles.* 4, 3 (PG 67, 1113); Athanasius, *Ad Marcell.* 12 (PG 27, 24); F. Wieland, *Die genetische Entwicklung der sog. Ordines minores in den drei ersten Jahrhunderten* (*Supplementheft der Römischen Quartalschrift* 7, Rome, 1897), 165.

[30] *Les Canons des Apôtres,* can. 52 (PO 8, 635, ed. Perier): Les enfants se tiendront près de l'ambon et un autre diacre les surveillera pour réprimer leur turbulence.

also referred to as singing together, and they undoubtedly stood together, so that in both these references one and the same place is meant.

Yet the singing of women in church was not looked on with such good favor everywhere. The voices that forbid it become louder and louder till the song of women in liturgical functions ceases completely. In the *Didascalia* of the Three Hundred Eighteen Fathers a very strong prohibition of the singing of women is placed before us. The struggle against their participation in liturgical community singing must have begun long before this. In the above mentioned *Didascalia* we read: "It is decreed that women shall not speak in church, not even softly in an undertone, nor should they sing along or take part in the responses, but they should be silent and pray to God".[31] This text according to P. Batiffol[32] dates back to about the year 375 A. D. The same view is expressed by Cyril of Jerusalem († 386). In his introductory *Catechesis*,[33] he speaks of the assignment of places in church: "The virgins should sing or read Psalms very quietly during divine worship. They should speak with their lips alone so that nothing is heard. It is not permissible for a woman to speak in church. Women should therefore conduct themselves in this way: When they pray they should move their lips but not so that they can be heard". Isidore of Pelusium (448) says:[34]

> Perhaps women were permitted to sing along with men in the early ages to prevent their gossiping in church. The Apostles and Presbyters of the Church permitted it. But later this permission had to be withdrawn since it was learned that they did not derive any salutary fruits of penance (κατάνυξις) from divine song, but used the sweetness of melody for every kind of disturbance, since they looked on it in exactly the same way as on the music of the theatre.

What were the grounds that led to the exclusion of women from singing in church? They are of various kinds. The main reason however is due to the heretics, with whom women had prominent

[31] *Didascalia CCCXVIIII patrum* 8 (18, 1-14, ed. Batiffol).

[32] P. Batiffol, *Studia Patristica* (Paris, 1889), 138.

[33] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Procatech.* 14 (PG 33, 356).

[34] Isidore of Pelusium, *Epistula* 1, 90 (PG 78, 244).

rank as prophetesses and lectresses, deaconesses, and singers. The Gnostics began with such an arrangement, and among the Marcionites women filled these same offices in their divine services.[35] Tertullian gives his views in various sharp expressions concerning these innovations of the heretics: "How bold and wanton the women of the heretics are!" he exclaims; "they are bold enough to teach; they dispute; they attempt exorcisms and cures, perhaps they even go so far as to baptize".[36] The practice which St. Ephraem adopted later as a measure to stop the growth of heresy by permitting women to sing, sometimes even retaining the melodies of the heretical songs and merely replacing the words, was not adopted universally.[37] As the Church from time to time combatted the singing of hymns, probably as a protest against the innovation of the heretics, she likewise took a prohibitive attitude to this stronger attraction of women toward singing during divine worship; she even abolished it altogether.

This development is clearly traceable. Paul of Samosata was attacked on two points: firstly, that in place of the usual hymns concerning Christ he substituted songs and hymns composed by himself; and secondly, that he permitted the singing of these songs by women during the divine worship of Easter Sunday. A passage in St. Jerome's *Contra Pelagianos* is of particular importance for

[35] Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* 1, 13, 2 (PG 7, 580); Jerome, *Epistula* 133 (*ad Ctesiphontem*) (CSEL 56, 248, 3, ed. Hilberg). Cf. Th. Schermann, *Ein Weiherituale der römischen Kirche am Schlusse des ersten Jahrhunderts* (München-Leipzig, 1913) 36; A. v. Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig, 4th ed., 1924), II, 601 ff.

[36] Tertullian, *De praescriptione* 41 (II, 39 Oehler). Cf. *De baptismo* 17. Tertullian does not change his mind in his Montanistic time, although he calls Prisca, Priscilla, and Maximilla "holy prophetesses" in *De exhortatione castitatis* 10 and *De ieiunio* 1. For he remarks in *De virginibus velandis* 9 (I, 895 Oehler): Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere, nec tinguere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris, nedum sacerdotalis officii sortem sibi vindicare. Th. Schermann, *Die allgemeine Kirchenordnung, frühchristliche Liturgien und kirchliche Ueberlieferung* (*Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, Ergänzungsband* III, 2, Paderborn 1915), 204, remarks that the 26th chapter of the so-called *Apostolic Constitutions* containing rules which forbade women to participate in the liturgy was written in opposition to Gnostic customs.

[37] Theodoret, *Historia eccles.* 4, 29 (GCS 269, 13, ed. Parmentier).

forming a judgment on the exclusion of women from singing in church. According to Gennadius,[38] Jerome attacked here the *Eclogorum ex divinis scripturis liber unus, capitulorum indiciis in modum Cypriani praesignatus* (i. e. modelled on the *Testimoniorum libri* of Cyprian) written by Pelagius before 411. Jerome quotes the *tituli* of a number of these *capitula* and then addresses Pelagius:

> No doubt you are so gallant that in order to win the favor of your amazons you write on another occasion: "Women also must have a knowledge of the law". Yet the apostle teaches that women should be silent in church, and if perchance they do not understand a certain thing, they should ask their husbands at home (I Cor. 14: 34). You are not satisfied to set a knowledge of the Scriptures before your fair admirers, you also wish to enjoy their voices and their singing. So you continue with your prescriptions, "Women too should sing praise to the Lord". Who does not know that women should sing the praises of the Lord in their own chambers far removed from the meetings of men and the assemblies of the multitude? You however allow what is not permissible, namely, you allow them to sing out what should be performed by them secretly and without any witnesses, as though they were lawfully constituted teachers.[39]

According to Jerome there is an arrogance in the singing of women that cannot be harmonized with the Christian idea of the position of women. The entire complexity of this question is bound up with the problem of the religious emancipation of women, which became very difficult by reason of the conduct of the heretics in this matter.

To understand the exclusion of women from singing at liturgical functions, the attitude of Christianity toward the singing of women outside of the time of such functions, in private life, must also be considered. The women musicians and singers of antiquity had a very bad name. The flutists, harp players, and singers at banquets were courtesans and harlots. In the *Dialogues of a Courtesan* of Lucian of Samosata practically only women musicians and singers are mentioned.[40] Sallust says of Sempronia: "She played the zither and danced more elegantly than was becoming to an upright

[38] Gennadius, *De viris illustribus* 43 (77, 17, ed. Richardson).

[39] Jerome, *Contra Pelagianos* 1, 25 (PL 23, 519).

[40] Lucian, *Dialogi meretrici* 12, 1, 311 (III, 407, ed. Jakobitz).

woman and she had many other accomplishments which minister to voluptuousness".[41] It is little wonder then that Christianity showed a great aversion toward any activity of married women and virgins in profane music or song. Arnobius identifies the harpists and the courtesans: "Has God created souls for this", he asks, "that women become harlots, zither and flute players, in order to surrender their bodies to lust?"[42] Commodian tells the Christian virgin: "*Transgrederis legem, cum te facis musicis inter*".[43] A prominent opponent of worldly song on the part of women, St. Jerome in his *Epistola ad Laetam,* demands of the young girl: *Cantica mundi ignoret.*[44] Organ, flute, harp, and zither should remain a closed world to the Christian maiden.[45] No pleasure should be taken in a friend who with "practiced throat sings a sweet song",[46] for "through the sweetness of the voice the soul is wounded through the ear"[47] Basil of Caesarea thinks it a disgraceful sight for pious eyes to find a woman singing at the harp rather than weaving.[48] This strictness lasts a long time. In the Orient, a synod of 576 decreed that Christian parents from that time on should no longer permit their daughters to learn worldly music.[49] In W. Riedel we read of the prescription of the Fathers, Elders, and Masters:[50] "Christians are not permitted to teach their daughters singing, the playing of instruments or similar things, because according to their religion it is neither good nor becoming".

All these passages, it is true, are concerned with worldly song and worldly music which heathen women cultivated with overmuch

[41] Sallust, *De coniuratione Catilinae* 25 (20, 24, ed. Ahlberg).

[42] Arnobius, *Adversus nationes* 2, 42 (CSEL 4, 82, 18, ed. Reifferscheid).

[43] Commodianus, *Instructiones* 2, 7, 11-12 (CSEL 15, 82, ed. Dombart).

[44] Jerome, *Epistula* 107 (*Ad Laetam de institutione filiae*) 4, 1 (CSEL 55, 294, 1, ed. Hilberg).

[45] *Ibid.,* 8, 3 (CSEL 55, 299, 19, ed. Hilberg).

[46] *Ibid.,* 9, 3 (CSEL 55, 300, 14, ed. Hilberg).

[47] Jerome, *Epistula* 128 (*Ad Pacatulam*) 4, 3 (CSEL 56, 160, 15, ed. Hilberg).

[48] Basil, *Comment. in Isaiam Prophet.* 5, 158 (PG 30, 378).

[49] J. C. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale* (Paris, 1902), 386, Synod of Mar Ezechiel in the year 576, can. 37.

[50] W. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien* (Leipzig, 1900), 191.

zeal. Already in the time of Horace, the famous musicians Demetrius and Tigellius spent a large portion of the day at the desks of their girl scholars.[51] In contrast to this, the singing of the Psalms is recommended again and again to Christian virgins precisely as a substitute for prohibited worldy music. Tertullian writes: *sonant inter duos (coniuges) psalmi et hymni et mutuo provocant, quis melius deo suo cantet.*[52] This very lack of singing of Psalms and hymns is counted as one of the great pities of a mixed marriage: "What shall her husband sing to her or she to him? No doubt she will hear something from the stage".[53] Jerome gives the practical advice to little Pacatula: *Psalmos mercede decantet.*[54] And in his letter to Laeta for little Paula: *Adhuc tenera lingua Psalmis dulcibus imbuatur.*[55] To this girl in her teens he suggests that she sing hymns early in the morning and at the third, sixth, and ninth hours of the day.[56] In the so-called *Canons of Basil*, the 36th *Canon* prescribes: "A virgin must use her tongue diligently in the singing of the Psalms".[57]

Still, even in this extra-liturgical singing of Psalms by women, prudence and restraint must be used. In the pseudo-Clementine work, *De virginitate*, from the first half of the third century,[58] the unmarried of both sexes are forbidden to sing any of the Christian hymns or psalms at heathen banquets. It says:

> We do not cast the holy to dogs nor our pearls to swine, but we sing praise to God with all modesty and discretion, with fear of God and devotion. We do not practice our cult in the places where the heathens carouse, nor at banquets where the impious mock God with their un-

[51] Martial, 3, 63, 7 (74, ed. Heraeus). Horace, *Saturae* 1, 10, 91, (153, ed. Kiessling-Heinze).

[52] Tertullian, *Ad uxorem* 2, 9 (I, 697, ed. Oehler).

[53] Tertullian, *ibid.*, 2, 6 (I, 692, ed. Oehler).

[54] Jerome, *Epistula* 128 (*Ad Pacatulam*) 1, 3 (CSEL 56, 157, 7, ed. Hilberg).

[55] Jerome, *Epistula* 107 (*Ad Laetam de institutione filiae*) 4, 1 (CSEL 55, 294, 1, ed. Hilberg).

[56] *Ibid.*, 9, 3 (CSEL 55, 300, 18 Hilberg).

[57] W. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien* (Leipzig, 1900), 256.

[58] O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, II (Freiburg, 2nd ed., 1914), 303.

> chaste language. For this reason we do not sing any of the Psalms in the presence of the heathen, nor do we read the Scriptures to them, that we may not become like to the flute players and the singers and soothsayers, as many today are doing when they do such things: when they sing the songs of the Lord in the strange land of the heathen in order to sate themselves with a bite of bread and a drink of wine. Such things cannot be allowed.[59]

Gregory Nazianzen[60] wishes that virgins know how to sing the divine canticles rather with the heart than with the voice. The singing of the Psalms in private life was to be performed by male rather than female voices. Of Arsillos the ruler of the Iberians (present-day Georgia) it is said:

> And although many of the great ones of the earth, those in search after pleasure and the indifferent, have the custom to provide men and women singers to escape the nothingness of this world and to derive some passing enjoyment from song, he (Arsillos) procured men to sing sacred songs. These songs were rendered at the time of meals and throughout the day, so that his palace echoed with the words of sacred songs and differed in nothing from the church.[61]

Here too there is a complete exclusion of female singing from the customs of the nation. There was something sensuous in the song of a woman according to some of the Fathers. Isidore of Pelusium says in the passage already mentioned that women did not derive any true penitential fruit from their singing: κατάνυξιν ἐκ τῶν θείων ὕμνων οὐχ ὑπομένουσι. This hindering of the κατάνυξις, the *compunctio cordis*, the "crushing of the heart" was brought against the singing of women. The same objection was also largely responsible for the aversion toward the development of song in the monasteries of the time. We see the vigorous struggle of the Abbots Nilus and Pambo against any innovation in singing in monastic worship—innovations that threatened to invade the monastic services from the municipal churches.[62]

[59] Pseudo-Clement, *De virginitate* 2, 6, 3 (PG 1, 432).

[60] Gregory Nazianzen, *Carmina*, lib. I, sectio III, 2, *praecepta ad virgines* (PG 37, 603).

[61] R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer* (Leipzig, 1895), 19, 11.

[62] Cf. J. Quasten, *Musik und Gesang in den Kulten der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit (Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen,* Heft 25, Münster, 1930), 146 ff.

The question still remains whether the ancient participation of women in heathen worship was not a ground for the opposition to the singing of women in the divine worship of the Christians. The answer is in the negative, for the struggle against the participation of women in singing at divine worship is not uniform enough and at the same time is localized too much. Moreover, this was an aspect that was stressed only at a later date. According to the citations that have been made, the development is more along the following line, namely that women commonly and universally took part in the liturgical singing in earliest Christian times. This was a form of the spiritual κοινωνία expressing itself in community singing. Special women choirs separated from the rest of the congregation and corresponding to the women choirs of the pagan cults seem to have been unknown in the first two centuries of Christianity, so far as can be judged from existing documents. Hence no complaints are heard against women choirs in the first two centuries. The struggle for or against the liturgical singing of women began when the heretics, from the time of Paul of Samosata, established women choirs separated from the rest of the congregation to conduct the singing at the functions of divine worship. The example of these heretical circles was the reason why certain of the Fathers, among whom the chief example is Ephraem, imitated the heretics for tactical reasons and likewise established choirs of women in order to deprive their opponents of this weapon of attack. Other Fathers however sharply opposed this practice of the heretics. The conflict concerning the singing of women in church arose from this. As all opposition becomes sharper particularly when it is not able to carry the day, so it happened with regard to the opposition to the singing of women in church: some of the Fathers went so far as to forbid women to take part in the parochial community singing. For all this, heathen idol worship did not furnish the ground for abolishing the singing of woman in the liturgical functions of the Christians.

It is different with heathen worship of the dead. The participation of women as weepers at heathen funerals is known.[63] At

[63] *Ibid.*, 217 ff.

burial services women choirs often sang. Herodian [64] relates that at the funeral rites in honor of the Roman emperor a choir of distinguished women sang hymns and songs in honor of the deceased. The memorial services for the dead were celebrated with banquets, music, singing, and dancing. This practice also set in on the vigils of the feasts of the martyrs despite all prohibition to the contrary.[65] We know from the *Letter* of St. Augustine to Bishop Alypius of Tagaste and from his *Enarratio II in Ps. 32* [66] how difficult it was to eradicate this remnant of paganism. He tells how banquets were held in the church with music and dancing. In this light we can understand why Jerome gave the Christian maiden this rule of conduct for visiting the basilicas of the martyrs, namely, only to go there in the company of her mother;[67] and on another occasion he advises the virgin never to let go of her mother's hand during the celebration of the vigil.[68] In the 99th of the *Canons of Father Athanasius*, we read: "A virgin should not be in church at night, but she should be in the monastery".[69] The council of Auxerre (c. 580) at a later time with advertence this practice decreed: "It is not permitted that maiden choirs sing in the church, or prepare banquets in the church".[70] The duration of this abuse is seen from a passage in a homily of Pope Leo IV (847-855) in which he orders: "Forbid the singing of choirs of women in the church or the vestibule of the church. Forbid those diabolical songs which the people sing over the dead during the hours of the night".[71] At

[64] Herodian, 4, 2, 5 (110, 12, ed. Stavenhagen).

[65] Cf. J. Quasten, "Vetus superstitio et nova religio. The problem of Refrigerium in the ancient Church of North Africa", *Harvard Theological Review*, XXXIII (1940), 253-266.

[66] *Ibid.*, 259, note 30.

[67] Jerome, *Epistula* 107 (*Ad Laetam*), 9, 2 (CSEL 55, 300, 9, ed. Hilberg).

[68] *Ibid.*, 9, 2 (CSEL 55, 300, 10, ed. Hilberg): Vigiliarum dies et solemnes pernoctationes sic virguncula nostra celebret, ut ne transversum quidem unguem a matre discedat.

[69] W. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien* (Leipzig, 1900), 58.

[70] Council of Auxerre, can. 9 (J. Hefele-H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles* III, 1909, 1, 126).

[71] Leo IV, *Homiliae* (Mansi, XIV, 895).

about this same time the ecclesiastical canons of the Patriarch John III enjoin an excommunication on all women going to the graves of the dead to play the timbrel and to dance.[72] Certainly the heathen cult of the dead with all its popular practices was the reason why the singing of women was forbidden at the nocturnal vigils. How strongly this was developed is seen from the fact that Gregory Nazianzen [73] in the eulogy for his sister Gorgonia praises her diligence in visiting the vigil celebrations and stresses her singing of Psalms at night. Again, according to the testimony of Aetheria [74] on the vigil of Easter in Jerusalem women were present; and in the so-called *Testament of Our Lord* [75] the *laus nocturna viduarum* is mentioned at various times. Practice, however, was not uniform everywhere. While some places already forbade the singing of women, indeed even forbade them to take part in the vigil celebrations, a synod of 676 in the Orient still decrees that the professed sisters "on the days of burial shall sing the *Madrasche* walking around the coffin; on the memorial days and on the vigils they shall recite the *Madrasche*".[76]

There were various causes that furnished the grounds in different localities for the prohibition of the singing of women in church until, with the cessation of community singing at divine worship, it ceased universally.

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[72] F. Nau, *Les canons et les résolutions canoniques* (Paris, 1906), 96: Les femmes qui se rendent au tombeau en se lamentant sur leurs morts avec tambours et des danses seront privées de l'église et de la communion et il n'est pas permis aux prêtres d'être présents quand on fait ces [danses].

[73] Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio* 8 (PG 35, 805).

[74] *Peregrinatio Aetheriae* 24, 12 (CSEL 39, 74, 11, ed. Geyer): De laicis etiam viris aut mulieribus si qui volunt, usque ad lucem loco sunt, si qui nolunt, revertuntur in domos suas et reponent se dormito.

[75] *Testamentum D.N.J. Chr.* I, 43 (101, ed. Rahmani); *ibid.*, I, 43 (103, ed. Rahmani). Cf. A. Kalsbach, *Die altkirchliche Einrichtung der Diakonissen bis zu ihrem Erlöschen* (*Supplementheft der Römischen Quartalschrift* 22, Freiburg, 1926), 41.

[76] J. B. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale* (Paris, 1902), 486, Synod of Mar George 1, can. 9.

REFLECTIONS OF LORD ACTON ON HISTORICAL PRINCIPLES *

IN the correspondence, from which we shall occasionally quote, between Lord Acton and the Anglican Bishop Creighton [1] the British historian wrote:

> One likes to be told that one has a philosophy of history. If I have one, there is no secret about it and no compact with the evil one. I find that people disagree with me either because they hold that Liberalism is not true or that Catholicism is not true or that both cannot be together. If I could discover anyone who is not included in these categories, I fancy we should get on very well together.

But before beginning to investigate the question of Lord Acton's ideas on history, which will involve a consideration of some biographical details and of several general intellectual currents of his epoch, the writer must apologize for a certain patch-work effect that could not be avoided: The following observations are based in large part upon Acton's unpublished notes which are preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge. These consist partly of excerpts from books read by him and partly of his own reflections, written, in general, in a very fragmentary form.[2] This form affects the style of his notes, a style always carefully elaborated in his published works, and offers difficulties in the way of their use; yet this very fragmentariness has its own particular charm. Acton's

* Paper read at the Twenty-First Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 27, 1940, New York City.

[1] Cf. my article, "The Correspondence between Lord Acton and Bishop Creighton", *The Cambridge Historical Journal*, VI (1940), 3, 307 ff. (*Correspondence*).

[2] For an introduction to Lord Acton's ideas, cf.: U. Noack, *Geschichtswissenschaft und Wahrheit* (1935) and *Katholizität und Geistesfreiheit* (1936); then G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the XIXth Century* (1920), 379-393. Noack used some of Acton's notes in the library of the University of Cambridge but not those which are studied in this essay. The notes are quoted here according to the catalogue of the Anderson Room of that library.

notes, rather too numerous for detailed examination, bear witness to the "inexhaustibleness" of which his friends speak, and they have a special value in this case. For only a very small part of his research was ever brought to completion: He published no book and only two essays appeared on the problem which he regarded as his main preoccupation: the history of Freedom. But this man of no book exercised a powerful influence through the force of his personality, to which Viscount Morley, the biographer and intimate friend of Gladstone, bore tribute when he said that if he were allowed to bring back just one person from the other world, he would, without hesitation, choose Acton.[3]

Ever since Montesquieu had advocated the necessity of grasping "l'esprit général," the general spirit of an epoch as foundation for historical judgment thereupon, ever since Condorcet had sought to determine one valid standard by which the historian might measure the various achievements of history, "les progrès," so that these may seem to take their place in one great system of Progress,[4] there had been a continuous concern with the problem of a basic "esprit général," of a historical common denominator. Such a concern was inevitable once history was released from the encirclement of the theological cosmos, and it represented one of the main preoccupations of the nineteenth century. We all know the solutions attempted by the romanticists and by Hegel, Karl Marx, and Spengler. But for the scholarly historians, for the "guild," "die Zunft," no answer was more important than that given by Ranke, who is considered by many as the leading German, or even European, historian, and who, at the middle of the century represented, as its chief, the famous historical school at Berlin. To him the very marrow of "historical civilization" was politics: political formations, their changes and fluctuations, an attitude still shared by the historians of central Europe.

Of Ranke's opponents at this time, there was probably none whose opposition was stronger or more basic than that of Ignaz

[3] This anecdote was told to me by Dr. G. P. Gooch.

[4] Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois*, XIX, 4, "Ce que c'est que l'esprit général." Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain.*

Doellinger, the historian of Munich. For Doellinger religion took the place that politics held for Ranke; he shaped history according to religious institutions, he centered it upon religious values. "Religious history is to universal history, as the soul is to the body. It gives connexion and importance to the events of universal history. Without it history could only occupy the memory, not the higher faculty of the mind."[5] It was to study history under this man that Acton in 1848 went to Munich and no one exercised upon him a greater influence than did Doellinger—his teacher who became his friend. Many of his notes are concerned with the personality and the opinions of Doellinger and when, some thirty years later, an estrangement developed between them out of a difference of historical principles, Acton stated that he had the feeling of being without any contemporary.

The intellectual life of the Munich to which Acton came, and whose atmosphere he breathed for six years, had developed quite separate and distinct from that of Berlin, though not in direct contrast. The writer has been able to find in no German history a description of the Munich society and its leaders or even an adequate biography of Louis I of Bavaria, who gave such decisive direction to its formation. It is to this king that Munich owes its unsurpassed collections of paintings and archaeological treasures, and the magnificent buildings which gave it pre-eminence among German cities. If, in the middle of the eighteenth century Dresden was said by David Hume to be "the centre of politeness" in Germany,[6] there is no doubt but that, three generations later, Munich had taken its place. For, aside from the artistic interests and developments in which the king had played such an important part, there flourished in Munich during these years a group of scholarly men: the theologian Moehler; philosophers such as Goerres, Schelling, Baader; historians as Lasaulx and Doellinger. All of of these may be fairly criticised on various scores, particularly the historians. Acton himself once said of his teacher, that the "Doellinger-problem" represented the necessity of understanding "how it came to pass that a man who was eminently intelligent

[5] *Acton MSS.* 4860.

[6] Essay "Of Civil Liberty."

and perspicuous in the exposition of doctrines, but who in narrative, description, and knowledge of character was neither first nor second, resolved that his mission was history."[7] Nonetheless, a truly intellectual life pulsated in Bavaria's capital throughout these years; Acton was strongly impressed by it and by "the men who at Munich were working out the law of development within their communion."[8] This intellectual society which Acton met in Munich was a Catholic one; but it represented a particular type of Catholicism, which, however, was not confined to Munich or to South Germany.

If, around 1830, anyone had asked an average Italian of average religious and intellectual interests, by which modern religious personalities he was most strongly impressed, he would probably have answered: Pius VII (or his cardinal secretary Consalvi), Manzoni, and Fénelon. Manzoni had published his *Promessi Sposi* in 1825, and some supposed that for his Federigo Borromeo, Fénelon had been the prototype; this Borrromeo of whom the author asks: "cos' ha quell' uomo per render tanta gente allegra?" Fénelon, "the witness against one century and the precursor of another,"[9] had been the adversary of Gallicanism and especially of Bossuet, "the eagle of Meaux." But the Fénelon who enjoyed such popularity and esteem in Italy and in Germany during this period (his biography was written by Bausset in 1808; his *Oeuvres Complets* were published 1808-1833; his *Letters*, in 1827) was not the archbishop of Cambrai as seen by the eighteenth century; a hundred years later he was to become the ideal of liberal Catholicism.

Manzoni's profound religious feeling was typical of a religious attitude influenced by certain Jansenist trends which had never died out in Italy. A revival of this current meant a revival of anti-traditionalism. Acton, looking back upon this, saw it as a decisive historical moment in which a break with continuity had become inevitable—one of these moments when, in his words, one

[7] "Doellinger's Historical Work", in Lord Acton, *History of Freedom and other Essays*, ed. by J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence (1922), 379; on Lasaulx, *ibid.*, 405. [*Freedom*].

[8] "German Schools of History" [*Schools*] in Lord Acton, *Historical Essays and Studies*, ed. by J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence (1907), 368. [*Studies*].

[9] Lord Acton, *A Lecture on the Study of History* (1895), 13.

must "break with established ideas, resist the current, make a new departure."[10] And it seemed to the contemporaries of Consalvi that this "new departure" was under way, when they read the *Motu Proprio* issued by the Cardinal Secretary after the restoration of Pius: "Divine Providence which so conducts human affairs that out of the greatest calamity innumerable benefits proceed, seems to have intended that the interruption of the papal government should prepare the way for a more perfect form of it." There was, Acton says, "generally the feeling of a new beginning", and we know that to him the beginning of a new religious life meant also a new political and cultural life. Thus liberal Catholicism was formed. It was according to Acton, "the confluence of many springs, all at the same time not one man's work."[11] Chateaubriand and De Maistre have their importance therein. To other names which we are used to associate with this movement, Montalembert and Lamennais, we may add those of the famous preacher of Notre Dame in Paris, Lacordaire, and Ozanam, the historian of mediaeval intellectual life. But the real instigator, "the real discoverer," was seen by Acton to have been Baron D'Eckstein in France, a man he terms "more original than any."[12]

These men were not organised into a party; they were bound together by a common intellectual creed based upon a similarity of attitude, and in this attitude we may easily see the influence of the Age of Enlightenment. These men too, like Hume and Turgot and many others before them, believed in Progress. It is true that for them this comprehended a religious progress, in the words of Acton, "the idea of the gradual accomplishment and progress of the Church, more and more fit for her work."[13] They believed that the improvement of the Church "was the sign of divine forces at work within."

[10] *Acton MSS.* 4973.

[11] *Acton MSS.* 5640.

[12] *Acton MSS.* 5640. Eckstein, Ferdinand baron d', (1790-1861). He published: *Des Jésuites* (1827), *De l'état actuel des affaires* (1828), *De l'Europe* (1836), *Des sources de l'opinion publique en Europe* (1856).

[13] *Acton MSS.* 4912.

Progress had meant to Voltaire the movement towards an ecumenical cultural and intellectual community, the creation of "cette grande société des esprits, répandue partout et partout indépendante"; it had been for Turgot the somewhat vague progress of the human mind in general; for Lessing, the development of moral consciousness. Condorcet had stated the doctrine of "la perfectibilité indéfinie de l'espèce humaine"; for Herder progress was the march towards humanity; for Kant, the unconscious advance towards the gradual unfolding of all the capacities of mankind as a species.[14] Acton was to adopt the belief that the basic trend of human history was progress towards freedom. "History is general in its progress."[15] It was upon this belief that his unwritten "History of Freedom" would have been based; he stated at the end of his essay on "The History of Freedom in Christianity" that "the causes that had carried us so far in the van of free nations have not spent their power." Liberty, this "delicate fruit of a mature civilisation," was—according to him—not a "means to a higher political end. It is itself the highest political end";[16] and he adds: "By liberty I mean the assurance that every man shall be protected in doing what he believes his duty against the influence of authority and majorities, custom and opinion";[17] "the test of liberty is the condition of minorities";[18] yet freedom "can only be the fruit of long manifold and painful experiences; and the tracing of the methods by which divine wisdom has educated the nations to appreciate and to assume the duties of freedom, is not the least part of that true philosophy that studies to:

[14] Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV*, chap. XXXIV; G. E. Lessing, *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts;* I. Kant, *Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltbürgerlicher Absicht.*

[15] *Acton MSS.* 4870.

[16] "The History of Freedom in Antiquity," in *Freedom,* 22.

[17] "The History of Freedom in Antiquity," *Freedom,* 3. An earlier definition in *MSS.* 4870: "Liberty enables us to do our duty unhindered by the state, by society, by ignorance and error. We are free in proportion as we are safe from these impediments."

[18] *Acton MSS.* 4870; cf., "Freedom in Antiquity," 4.

assert eternal Providence
And justify the ways of God to men.[19]

Related to the belief in progress is the belief in the moral function of history, and this constitutes the real centre of Acton's historical feeling. The emphasis on moral values is, likewise, a legacy from the century of the Enlightenment: we may remember that Voltaire and Lessing had emphasized putting ethics far above metaphysics. This view was certainly not shared by all of the Munich group (*e. g.*, Schelling and Baader), but it represented the opinion of Doellinger and, after him, of Acton. He says: "Doellinger thought Metaphysics an obstacle to religion and to scientific History . . . the metaphysical period was dying out."[20] And Acton expresses his own opinion in his polemic about Bishop Creighton's *History of the Papacy*. The bishop's attitude "would imply that Christianity is a mere system of metaphysics which borrowed some ethics elsewhere. It is rather a system of ethics which borrowed its metaphysics elsewhere."[21] Applying the same discrimination to history he states: "The marrow of civilised history is ethical, not metaphysical:[22] 'Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'."[23] It is, of course, only natural that with this scale of values he should believe that the noblest function history could assume is an ethical one: history tests and proves what is the highest aim of mankind —morality; he might have continued Schiller's verses:

Du hast gehofft, dein Lohn ist abgetragen,
Dein Glaube war dein zugewogen Glück.

And as Acton says, "The inflexible integrity of the moral code is to me the secret of the authority, the dignity and utility of history."[24] It is from this point of view that Doellinger could

[19] "Freedom in Antiquity" 19; *ibid.* 27: "The liberties of the ancient nations were crushed beneath a hopeless and inevitable despotism and their vitality was spent when the new power came forth from Galilee, giving what was wanting to the efficacy of human knowledge to redeem societies as well as men."

[20] *Acton MSS.* 4914.

[21] Cf. *Correspondence,* 315.

[22] *Schools,* 362.

[23] Schiller, *Gedichte,* "Resignation," vs. 85.

[24] *Correspondence,* 316.

say (and we have no reason to doubt that Acton was in accord with the sentiment): "History is superior to theology as a defense of religion."[25] Doellinger and Acton join hands with Enlightenment and Victorianism.

The same two currents met to produce another attitude common to Lord Acton and to most of the liberal Catholics: an optimistic belief in human nature combined with a distrust of political power. Though it is possible to find in many of the thinkers of the Enlightenment (even in Hume and Rousseau) traces of a skeptical attitude toward human nature,[26] the greater part of them believed that there existed a natural tendency to progress, and this belief increased their distrust in the necessity or utility of political power. Voltaire considered politics to be a second-rate occupation for man. After him there may be traced the slow beginnings of a development which had already been set in movement in another sphere, that of the reason of state—a development[27] in which politics was to become the very center of history. And some of those writers who followed this current accorded to political power or political compulsion the same dignity that they had had for Machiavelli and Montesquieu; for they, like these two, were convinced that man is by nature evil and in need of political restraint. But there were others who maintained rather the attitude of Rousseau, such as the Heidelberg historian, Fr. Chr. Schlosser, whom Acton did not hold in a great esteem, and Guizot. The latter at the end of his course on the history of European civilization states emphatically that every power, intellectual as well as temporal, belonging to governments or to peoples has a natural vice of its own, a principle to which limits must be assigned.[28] And even Jacob Burckhardt, though

[25] *Acton MSS.* 4912.

[26] J. J. Rousseau, *Discours sur le rétablissement des sciences et des arts*: "La nature, au fond, n'était pas meilleure"; and a similar opinion also in "Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes." Cf. A. Schinz, *La pensée de J. J. Rousseau* (1929), 154. For Hume, cf. his *Natural History of Religion.*

[27] Cf. F. Meinecke, *Geschichte der Staatsräson in der neueren Geschichte* (1929).

[28] "All the works of Schlosser deserve the malediction which Mr. Morley pronounced on one of them; yet there was a blunt integrity about him." "Schools," 351.

proceeding out of a profound pessimism, came to the same result in regard to political power. In his inquiry into the reasons for the emergence of huge centralistic powers and, like Acton, afraid of state omnipotence, he declares: "Power is wicked in itself;" "Macht ist böse an sich." "It can not rest, it is itself a lust"; "sie ist kein Beharren, sondern eine Gier."[29] With such a sentiment Acton was in complete accord: "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Great men are almost always bad men"; and he continues:

> There is no worse heresy than that the office sanctifies the holder of it. . . . You would hang a man of no position like Ravaillac; but, if what one hears is true, then Elisabeth asked the gaoler to murder Mary; and William III ordered his Scots minister to extirpate a clan. Here are the greatest names coupled with the greatest crimes. I would hang them higher than Haman for reasons of quite obvious justice, still more, still higher, for the sake of historical science. . . .

And later on: "My dogma is not the special wickedness of my own spiritual superiors, but the general wickedness of men in authority; of Luther and Zwingli and Calvin and Cranmer and Knox . . . of Philip II and Elisabeth, of Cromwell and Louis XIV . . . of Bossuet and Ken . . ."[30] Another exemplification of Lord Acton's scale of values is to be seen in the contrast of Pius VII and Napoleon I: "not the strongest and ablest Pontiff against by far the strongest and ablest monarch . . . spirituality, humbleness, charity self-sacrifice against violence, ambition and the arts of force." Later, thinking of this same historical moment when power seemed to prevail, he says: "Never had there been . . . so great an opportunity for improvement; it enabled the Church to start anew."[31] Out of his hatred of power he stated in his essay on "Freedom in Antiquity" what seems today rather a paradox: "A generous spirit prefers that his country should be poor and weak and of no account but free, rather than powerful, prosperous and enslaved."[32]

[29] *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen,* "Die Kultur in ihrer Bedingtheit durch den Staat."

[30] *Correspondence,* 317.

[31] *Acton MSS.* 4912.

[32] "Freedom in Antiquity," *Freedom,* 23.

Acton expressed criticism in reference to the French group of liberal Catholicism, as when he speaks of "their insufficiencies," "their want of science."[33] He was here not thinking of errors to be repudiated, but of a lack of method—of that method which he found studied and enjoyed in Germany where new historical methods had their origin and had first been taught.[34] It was this delight in technique that probably was responsible for Acton's great activity as a reviewer and for his looking upon historical works rather from the point of view of "l'art pour l'art." There was another reason for his passion for reading and reviewing, activities that robbed him of the time to write his own book: he was deeply convinced of the enduring influence of books; in his notes he lists the books which were supposed to have changed "the whole nature" of a reader: "Reading the Martyrs made Thierry a historian; reading Volney made Mazzini a revolutionist. Rousseau for Michelet; Lessing for Coleridge." When he once recommended a certain group of books he expressed the belief that any one of them, if "thoroughly taken in, should be the beginning of a new life and should make a new man." He hoped that his reviews, on a larger scale than could be afforded by any list, would constitute, as he says, "an inverted Index against desultory, casual, disconnected reading."[35]

Acton's concern with historical methodology was based upon the conviction which he shared with Doellinger that only by the historical approach could one judge of any values. There was formed in Acton the attitude (rather reminiscent of a Hegelian tendency) according to which one acknowledges as valid whatever history had produced, and one believes that one understands and grasps any phenomenon in so far as the human mind has known the whole of its historical efficacy. This is the attitude characteristic of European historism, "the depressing name of historicism", as Acton once calls it. It was with this attitude firmly fixed that in 1869 Acton, as the leader of the English liberal Catholics, arrived at the Vatican Council, and it was from this same point of view

[33] *Acton MSS.* 4973, 5542.

[34] Cf. "Schools" in *Studies*, 344 ff.

that Doellinger sought to instruct and influence an important group of German bishops assembled there.[36]

The hopes of liberal Catholicism in Italy seemed to have been fully realized when in 1846 Mastai-Feretti was elected as pope; in him, it seemed, appeared the "papa angelicus" who the mediaeval "veggenti" believed was one day to come and turn the tide. And for the next two years hopes continued to run high. As is well known, the change came in 1848, and in 1854 Pius proclaimed the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, thereby crowning the idea of spirit as predominant over nature within the Church. In 1864 the *Syllabus* condemned a number of philosophical and scientific doctrines as errors, naming, as the eightieth and last, the belief in human progress, the belief that was so highly important for the liberal Catholics. When Pius convoked the oecumenical council for December, 1869, he had lost, bit by bit, most of his temporal power; and at the moment when, borne high in majesty on the *sedia gestatoria*, he passed by in procession to inaugurate the council, the last remnants of this power were threatened. Acton had once called it the Church's "protection against the state and a monument of her imperfect victory over the ideas of the outer world. It is not so much an advantage as a necessity, not so much desirable as inevitable."[37] The popularity which Pius had lost in Rome by the abandonment of liberalism was balanced by the appeal which misfortune and sickness had for the people, who were impressed by the undeniable dignity of Pius when on certain occasions he rose to heights of real grandeur, speaking as high priest, as "gran sacerdote." Acton never understood the pope's mysticism.

At the meeting of the Vatican Council, the party which was led by the Jesuits proposed the proclamation of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, "dum ex cathedra loquitur." This was

[35] *Correspondence*, 308.

[36] Cf. "Doellinger on the Temporal Power" in *Studies* 301 ff., and "The Vatican Council" *ibid.* 492 ff., and the literature on the Council. Cf. *Appendix III*, "Lord Acton on the 'Minority' at the Vatican Council."

[37] *The Rambler* (1859), II, 149. Cf. *Appendix II*, "Lord Acton on the Pontifical State."

prompted by reasons in direct opposition to the historism of Doellinger and Acton; it called not for historical inquiry that tends to make all values relative, but for a definition out of the system which should determine the nature of an institution and give it its absolute, final value. Acton perceived the chasm between the groups and he announced the victory of the Jesuits with the words: "Le dogme a vaincu l'histoire." In political economy likewise, he could only see the historical method; again he was unable to understand the systematical. From his notes one can see with what passion Acton fought against the doctrine of infallibility. In one place he attempts to define what he calls: "possible way of holding infallibility honestly": "give up the past entirely, accept the teaching of tradition, the verdict of history ... so the Pope declaring, that he speaks as head of the Church, and that he is expressing the universal belief after due examination, 'wissenschaftlich,' is infallible."[38] This is the crux of the matter for Acton: "after due examination, wissenschaftlich." Or as he writes on another occasion: "Ecclesiastical decisions not to precede, but to follow scientific decisions."[39] Scientific decisions mean historical research. We know that Acton did not prevail.

The experiences at the Vatican Council failed to change Lord Acton's historical attitude; but they embittered him and filled him with a sense of his aloneness. Perhaps he had himself in mind when he characterized an unnamed person of his time: "on his guard against every tradition and every authority ... following his own conscience into isolation."[40]

Almost twenty years later Acton entered into a vigorous controversy, when he undertook in 1887 a detailed review of the *History of the Papacy at the End of the Middle Ages* written by Creighton, Dixie Professor for Ecclesiastical History in Cambridge and then an Anglican bishop. Acton had always maintained that individual morality was the highest aim of real history, or as he called it, of "conscientious history": "la sincérité est la pierre

[38] *Acton MSS.* 5542.

[39] *Acton MSS.* 5542.

[40] *Acton MSS.* 4929.

angulaire de l'histoire."[41] And this morality was, according to him, applicable to any country and to any time. There does not exist for him the problem of Montesquieu: "ce que c'est l'esprit général"—not to mention the "Volksgeist" of the romanticists and Hegel's "Weltgeist." Here again we perceive a remarkable legacy of the Enlightenment and of former times,—this belief of human nature ever the same, independent of time and place. Acton was conscious of this when he wrote—not without irony—in his essay on "the German Schools of History": "The infallible conscience, the universal and unwritten law, the principles of eternal justice, are precisely those eighteenth-century phantoms against which the romantic and historical school rose in defiance."[42] But for him this belief had an additional importance; it is in some way the analogy to the religious creed: "We believe Salvation to be attainable with the Church at the present time by the same methods by which the monk of the IXth or the friar of the XIIth century went to heaven."[43] To Acton the individual is the touchstone of history. "It is only to men as persons that free will will belong; look at them in masses and they become machines; with their personality you abstract their freedom."[44] But upon the individual falls the whole of responsibility to history. "Judge not according to the orthodox standard of a system—religious, philosophical, political, but according as things promote or fail to promote the delicacy, integrity and authority of conscience. Put conscience above both, system and success." This is one of the canons which Acton annexed to the letter to Creighton and which begins thus: "advice to persons about to write history—don't."[45] The ruling idea in these canons is that of individual morality, which the historian is called upon to judge by the help of the new historical methods and with intellectual rigor. Acton decries indulgence and insists on judging all things at their worst:

[41] Acton to Lady Blennerhassett, May, 1887, in *Correspondence of the First Lord Acton*, ed. by J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence (1917), I, 281 f.

[42] "Schools", in *Studies*, 354 f.

[43] "Conversations on Church History held Summer 1870", *Acton MSS.* 4871.

[44] "Mr. Buckle's Thesis and Method," in *Studies*, 310.

[45] *Correspondence*, 317.

"The final judgment depends on the worst action." And again: "The reign of sin is more universal, the influence of unconscious error is less than historians tell us. Good and evil lie close together. Seek no artistic unity in the character."

And this same principle of moral judgment he would apply to public as to private life, taking it for granted that in public life one must expect the worst of the individual; as he says, "No public character has ever stood the revelation of private utterances and correspondence." Acton later admitted that it was possible to find a few exceptions to this rule, but before history can exempt anyone from this charge he asked that there must first have been applied the best and the subtlest of modern historical method: "Historical responsibility has to make up for the want of legal responsibility." But while Acton asked that a moral standard should be applied as rigorously to public life as to private, he did not think the standard should be the same in both cases: "The principles of public morality are as definite as those of the morality of private life, but they are not identical." He explains this canon more in detail in another letter:[46] "L'histoire a non seulement sa morale qui lui est propre, mais qui est contraire en partie, a toute autre . . . Les fautes de la vie privée ne touchent pas à l'histoire . . . que des choses par lesquelles les hommes jugent ordinairement, sont exclues de ce code: la religion, la philosophie, le vice, le vol etc." The one absolute standard for the historical code is to "sauver ce qui est essentiel à l'existence de la société." And from this it follows for Acton: "Il n'y a d'absolument essentiel que la vie. Donc c'est la vie humaine qui est l'arche sainte. Personne ne peut être plus décidément caractérisé et condamné que celui qui verse du sang. Cela tranche toute question et contrebalance toute autre chose. Quand on tient un bon assassin—que ce soit Danton ou Bonaparte on est rassuré." And it is from this point of view that Acton attacks with vehemence and passion the popes of the later Middle Ages who participated in the Inquisition and St. Charles Borromeo—he might have said the same of St. Louis—failing to grasp the essence of Catholic saintliness. "At what

[46] Acton to Lady Blennerhassett, *loc. cit.*

stage of Dante's pilgrimage" Acton says, "would you expect to meet St. Charles?[47]

The happiest period of Acton's life began with his call to Cambridge. He who never had held an academic position before was appointed Regius Professor at the age of sixty-one years. Professor George M. Trevelyan, who was a student there at the time, told the writer that Acton gave in Trinity College the impression of a man happy and completely unbroken by his disappointment. G. P. Gooch, another outstanding pupil of Acton, said to the writer that the Regius Professor never wrote or uttered there a word which revealed him as a member of one Church rather than another. This is in accord with Acton's own description of an imaginary ideal character who "would have felt dishonest if he had unduly favoured people of his own country, his own religion, or his own party, or if he had entertained the shadow of a prejudice against those who were against them, and when he was asked why he did not clear himself from misrepresentation, he said that he was silent both from humility and pride."[48] Acton inaugurated his activities in Cambridge with a survey of the study of history.

He continued here to express his belief in the constancy of human progress, "of progress in the direction of organised and assured freedom" (this emphasis on organisation is one more new feature added to the inheritance of the Enlightenment). He continues, as he had done in the two essays on the history of freedom, to express his conviction that "the action of Christ, who is risen on mankind whom he redeemed, fails not, but increases"; and he adds a word recalling a famous passage of Lessing: "that the wisdom of divine rule appears not in the perfect, but in the improvement of the world." Yet this concern with the idea of progress in history prevents Acton from seeing, from enjoying the development within individualities, single as well as collective; and, at the same time, this idea separates him from Ranke's basic historical belief that every epoch is immediate to God, "unmittelbar zu Gott." Again in this survey he proclaims the sovereignty of the moral code in judgments upon history and historical personalities; and then in

[47] *Correspondence*, 317.

[48] Introduction to *Freedom*, xxxix.

what he calls some "shining precepts which are the registered property of every school" he summarizes the canons he had once sent to Bishop Creighton. Among them we find: "Judge talent at its best and character at its worst... suspect power more than vice."

It is in his attitude toward modern methodology of history that his optimism appears at its fullest; he vaunts the wide possibilities of historical criticism, little dreaming that a time would come when a historian would consider his task completed if he had succeeded in exposing the forgery of a certain document and did not care if the unifying spiritual bond had been lost. And again Acton exulted in the new, limitless sources provided for modern European history by the opening of so many archives of Europe; he failed to consider that being drowned is as unpleasant a fate as dying of thirst. Finally, Acton, just as the Anglican bishop Stubbs had done when speaking as an historian, proclaims the dogma of historical impartiality: "If men were truly sincere and delivered judgments by no canons but those of evident morality, then Julian would be described in the same terms by Christian and pagan; Luther by Catholic and Protestant, Washington by Whig and Tory." Here again Acton is speaking as the heir of the Enlightenment, that period which, impressed by discoveries like those of Newton, thought to find in mathematical truths and laws the only scientific truth and law—a belief in which, as we know, Kant shared. Yet the statement could also be made [49] that it was this very inheritance of the Enlightenment, entailing a belief in progress based on ethical principles, which made it possible for Acton, the last survivor of a line already dying out in Guizot and Ranke, to perceive the process of a history truly universal—as is indicated in the plan which he drew up for the *Cambridge History*.

[49] As E. Troeltsch, *Historismus* (1922), 652 ff., had pointed out. *See* Acton's plan for the *Cambridge History*, dated October, 1896 in *The Cambridge Modern History. An Account of its Origin, Authorship and Production* (1907), 8 ff.—"By Universal History I understand that which is distinct from the combined history of all countries, which is not a rope of sand, but a continuous development"; *loc. cit.* 14. Ranke's *Weltgeschichte* was published 1881-1885.

But, in spite of the advocacy by Acton the historian, of historical impartiality, and in the very writings where he sought to follow all the much vaunted rules of historical method and criticism, it is still possible for us to sense the personality of Acton the man, whose "lifework was — in fact — himself."[50] And this man is still important today, he is alive today, not because of his pronouncements of professional optimism, not because he was believed to be the most learned man in England,[51] surely not because of his belief that modern history (beginning for him with the sixteenth century) is separated by a gulf from the ages preceding. But if we think of the man to whose spiritual "inexhaustibleness" we alluded at the beginning of this paper, of the man who said "the study of history fulfills its purpose even if it only makes us wiser without producing books and gives us the gift of historical thinking which is better than historical learning",[52] of the man who proved by his life the conviction that history "is not a burden on the memory, but an illumination to the soul",[53] then perhaps one may understand—even if one does not share his opinion—that Creighton could write to Acton, the Anglican to the Catholic, the ecclesiastical dignitary to the professor, the author whose book was attacked to the author of the criticism: "You are one of those whom we all must try to obey". And—in spite of Acton's errors —we may think of the words with which the priest blesses the incense before it burns away:

Ab illo benedicaris in cuius honore cremaberis.

[50] Introduction to *Freedom*, XXXVII.

[51] Cf. L. Creighton, *Life and Letters of Mandell Creighton*, (1904), I, 275. "Tomorrow I am going to meet at dinner Lord Acton whom I have long been pining to see. He is . . . the most learned Englishman now alive, but he never writes anything."

[52] *On the Study of History*, 20.

[53] *The Cambridge Modern History. An Account of its Origin, Authorship and Production* (1907), 14.

APPENDIX I.

Lord Acton on Italian Liberal Catholicism.

Acton calls August, 1848 a "remarkable moment when the two greatest liberals in the clergy were one (Gioberti) minister at Turin, the other (Rosmini) his ambassador at Rome".[1] But a day of still greater importance arrived, which he called: "Rosmini's opportunity". "He had a moment for which stronger men would have given half their lives." This was on November 15, 1848, the day that Pellegrino Rossi, Pius' liberal prime minister, was killed by the Roman populace. The Pope then offered the presidency of the cabinet to Rosmini; but, "he would not be the appointed chief of a ministry he had not selected and did not know. . . . He knew that he had enemies denouncing him to the Pope. The position was a false one for a man of delicate conscience, of scrupulous honour, accustomed to the discipline of a religious house, unused to the loud publicity. It was a moment for which a man of heroic mould . . ." — Acton's sentence breaks off here; then he continues: "he declined . . . on that day, the day of Rossi's murder and Rosmini's abdication . . . the Church went over to his opponents. The reaction began."

Action says another time: "he [Rosmini] failed to accept the ministry which might have saved the pope . . . it was the last chance of saving the temporal power by the idea of an Italian confederation".[2] Rosmini went to Gaeta where Pius had taken refuge and met the Pope there; "he wished the constitution to be recognised and to go on", but Pius received him saying: "Caro abbate, non siamo più constituzionali".[3]

APPENDIX II.

Lord Acton on the Pontifical State.

The continuation of the Papal States became a problem to the group to which Lord Acton belonged, as it had to many others. "It is not essence, but accident; not end, but means", Doellinger says in regard to the temporal power. On the other hand, Acton notes judgments written by Protestants who pronounced for the continuance of the Papal States:

[1] *Acton MSS.* 4999.

[2] *Acton MSS.* 5641.

[3] *Acton MSS.* 4999.

Guizot, and the philosopher, Cousin, in France; and among the Germans, the theologian, Baur, General von Moltke, and the historian, Leo.[1]

At the moment of the insurrection of the Romagna in 1859, Acton explicitly discusses the Roman Question:[2] "No Protestant power assisted in the insurrection, no Protestant doctrine had anything to do with it. It has been the act of a Catholic people abetted by Catholic powers" (p. 138). Yet Acton states: "The cause of the temporal power is the cause of the other religions and of all other states, and it is in the interest of them all to preserve it" (p. 140). The common adversary is the revolution. "The great triumph of Revolution has hitherto been to dissociate Church and State. . . . It is a question affecting the foundation of all government—not concerning the good or bad government of Rome" (p. 142 f.). There is no doubt that Acton was convinced of the serious inadequacy of the administration of the Pontifical Government, yet he perceived that the criticisms directed against it were mostly but a pretext. "Every argument is vain which does not recognise that it is the divine institution, not the human which men assail in Rome" (p. 144). "The temporal sovereignty is not absolutely essential to the nature and ends of the Church; it has its source in causes which are external to her, in the temporal condition of the world, not in the spiritual aims of the Church; and if the world becomes impregnated with her ideas the necessity of the temporal power would probably disappear. It is her protection against the State and a monument of her imperfect victory over the ideas of the outer world. It is not so much an advantage as a necessity, not so much desirable as inevitable. It is required in order to save her from the political designs and combinations of a system in whose name she is now required to surrender it. . . . The temporal power is not more inconsistent with the ideas to which it is to be sacrificed than the spiritual power" (p. 149 f.). Acton rejects the idea that France or Piedmont represent a form of government in any way superior to that of the Papal States. Though he did not often find words in favor of the personality of Pius IX, he asks: "Would those who cannot trace in the sovereign of the Roman States the features of Christ's vicar upon earth, have recognised on Calvary between two thieves the person of the Son of God? The visible signs can satisfy only those who are capable of perceiving the invisible signs as well" (p. 152).

APPENDIX III.

Lord Acton on the "minority" at the Vatican Council.

In Acton's papers there can be found many notes as to the characteristics of the minorities, of which several outstanding members, such as

[1] *Acton MSS.* 5640.

[2] *The Rambler,* II (1859), 136-154.

Dupanloup, bishop of Orléans, Montalembert the leader of the liberal Catholics of France, had once struggled for the temporal power or, like Cardinal Bauscher, archbishop of Vienna, had decisively collaborated in such victories as the Austrian Concordat in 1855. Two especially of their leaders, Cardinal Prince Schwarzenberg, archbishop of Prague, and Darboy, archbishop of Paris, were thoroughly studied by Acton. "Schwarzenberg had published nothing, but spoke out openly and freely his opinion . . . he represented the Bohemian nation, the great Austrian aristocracy, great powers in the Church. . . . His courage, his firmness never gave way, his spirit was as rigid as his figure; he was highly proud."[1] Gradually the minority had come to recognise their leader in the archbishop of Paris, though Doellinger, for instance, continually took umbrage at the weakness of several publications of Darboy. "He had written appallingly uncritically." Acton praises the archbishop's perfect temper: "A man of action with the instinct of government; not a profound scholar; but in reality the ablest of all the prelates assembled at Rome."[2] Darboy's complete independence was well known.

"Take them all in all, the opposition are not better men than the others. They are better in one important item—but in that they are not entirely guided by the supreme motive of truth, but often of utility. It may be a calculation of what will serve religion, and in that case the majority are just as respectable as the minority. Their motive is equally good." Then follows another analysis of the mentality of the minority: "The desire of escaping from the conflict, of avoiding it, prevailed among the opposition. . . . But there was more than this: the desire of a party triumph did not influence the opposition. The combativeness which combat develops, did not exist among them. In their sympathies, their associations, their ulterior objects, their habits, many of them belonged to the party they were opposing. Thus Dupanloup, the champion of the Temporal Power and plausible interpreter of the Syllabus. . . . They think of the combat with sin more than [of the combat] with error." It was upon this attitude of the group as just described that Lord Acton, oversimplifying the question, based his judgment: "They never used their strongest argument—that they would not accept a dogma without unanimous consent. It might have failed, but it was deluding the Pope into the belief that they would yield, to avoid so carefully saying that they would not."[3]

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

[1] *Acton MSS.* 5542.

[2] *Acton MSS.* 4972.

[3] *Acton MSS.* 5542.

SOME CORRESPONDENCE OF AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BISHOP WITH HIS MISSIONARIES, 1767-1778

CONCOMITANT with their discovery or exploration, certain portions of the United States have been singled out for the establishment of the Church. The southern part of the Illinois Country was one of these religious oases in the desert of Indian superstition. Catholic priests had accompanied De la Salle, when he made his dramatic venture through Illinois down the Mississippi (1682). With a tradition of nearly one hundred years behind them, the successors of these hardy pioneers continued their labors. Interesting are the religious forces and inspiration behind these missionary epics.

It is a matter of instruction and edification to review the correspondence of one of the bishops, to whom over a score of years two such missionaries looked for guidance. This was Joseph Olivier Briand. Acceding to the see of Quebec as its seventh bishop in 1766, Briand occupies an enviable position in the annals of that old see. He was ever a self-possessed, tactful, and devoted worker in his episcopal office.

His diplomacy in the relations of the Church in Canada with the government in England merited for him the title, "Second Founder of the Church in Canada". In a great measure due to Bishop Briand's tact, the Test Oath was modified so as to be acceptable to the Holy See, the Quebec Act (1774), whereby Catholics were admitted to public functions and were confirmed in their religious freedom, and the Habeas Corpus Act, granting Catholics the rights and privileges of British subjects, were passed.

He had hardly entered upon his duties at Quebec, when the Illinois Country, lately ceded to Great Britain (1763), demanded his attention. Bishop Briand appointed Father Sebastian Meurin his vicar-general in this section of his diocese. In 1768, he sent Father

Pierre Gibault to assist Father Meurin in his vast mission field, including the present boundaries of southern Illinois and Indiana. During nearly a score of years, until the erection of the prefecture of Baltimore in 1784—an act which took the Illinois Country from the jurisdiction of Quebec—Briand showed his great devotion to these missionaries, who were carrying his burden in these remote regions.

These far-flung missions beyond the American frontier had known a great degree of prosperity during the French dominion of the country, but at the beginning of the British régime in 1763, the Church in the Illinois Country faced extinction. In the "six villages of fifty to eighty households each,"[1] the light of faith burned low. Here in the Illinois Country and along the Wabash River the presence of the Church had been concomitant with the coming of the white man into the fastnesses of the forest. Since the last quarter of the seventeenth century Kaskaskia had boasted of a flourishing establishment by the Jesuits. The priests of the Foreign Missions with Sulpicians and Recollects had been at Cahokia since 1699, while Vincennes, eighty leagues away on the Wabash, had been cared for by a Jesuit since the post was settled in 1727. Theirs had been an epic story. The passing of the ancient glory of the Illinois missions, characterized by the missionaries' heroism and courage, was largely due to the decree of banishment issued against the Society of Jesus by the Superior Council of New Orleans in 1763.[2] From these establishments for three

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

A A Q	*Archives of the Archdiocese of Quebec.*
A N C	*Archives Nationale; Ministère des Colonies.*
A S Q	*Archives du Seminaire du Quebec.*
C O	*Colonial Office.*
I H C	*Illinois Historical Collections.*
P R O	*Public Record Office.*
R A C H S	*Records of the American Catholic Historical Society.*

[1] Meurin to Briand, May 23, 1767, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 4 *IHC,* XI, 521.

[2] News of the expulsion of the order from various places reached New Orleans in 1762, but no proceedings were begun against the Jesuits until after the treaty of peace and the arrival of M. Dabbadie in 1763. The Jesuits were then cited before the General Council and condemned: cf., Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire générale du IV^e siècle à nos jours,* VII, 823.

quarters of a century these men had gone forth among the whites and Indians to win souls to the Church. And in that time the combined labors of the religious had been productive both spiritually and materially.[3]

Aside from the few good French families, the subjects upon whom the missioners exercised their zeal, were not plastic. They did not readily yield either to the kindness or to the eloquence of the priests. The religion of the Illinois Indian was a highly individual affair. There was neither a recognized head of religion nor any formal priesthood. But the primary difficulty in conversion to Christianity was overcome by the fact that the character of the "Black Robe", as the Indians named the missioner, appealed to them. An example cited by Father Vivier is illustrative:

> He [the Chief] gathered his people together and said to them: 'What think ye of the Black Chief? We have never done him any good; he dwells far from us beyond the sun, and yet he thinks of our village; he desires to do good to us; and when our children die, he wishes to send them to the Great Spirit. This Black Chief must be very good.'[4]

Despite whatever respect they had for the missionary, the Indians presented a difficult problem to him who tried to convert them. "It is a miracle of the Lord's mercy", wrote Father Marest; "we must first make men of them, and afterwards work to make them Christian."[5]

In 1769 Bishop Briand directed his missioners of the Illinois Country to restrict their field of labor to the territory governed by England.[6] But the work was still heavy. Even in the days when there had been twelve missioners in the territory, the demands on them created a formidable burden. What could two expect to accomplish? But Meurin and Gibault, nothing daunted, gave

[3] Watrin, *Banissement des Jésuites de la Louisiane, Jesuit Relations,* LXX, 213-301.

[4] *Jesuit Relations,* LXIX, 225.

[5] Marest to Germon, 1712, *Choix des lettres édifiantes et curieuses,* VI, 254-298.

[6] Briand to Meurin, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 15, *IHC,* XVI, 530.

themselves to their daily work. Their time was devoted to caring for the spiritual needs of the scattered believers. As the farmer visited his fields often to weed out the tares from the good plants, so these heroic missioners went among their people to prevent the enemy's work of sin. They instructed the ignorant; they sought to impress upon the young the principles upon which life depended; they uprooted vice and planted virtue. Neither house nor home was theirs in the arduous tasks which consumed their days. Freed from all cares they occupied themselves with the special needs of the people.[7]

Religious exercises were various. Sermons were preached on subjects useful for the instruction of the people. Public prayers were offered every evening at sundown, and catechism classes were conducted four times a week, three sessions were for white children and one class for the red. Under pressure of care for the people's needs, Gibault found it necessary to apply for permission to binate, which Briand granted for occasions of necessity, but in different places. Feast days, particularly, were devoutly observed. Their solemn celebration consisted of Mass and sermon; special effort was made to adorn the altar, upon which six candles were lighted, instead of the customary four. The color of the feast was adopted in the decorations. And even in the absence of the missioner, a specially designated person conducted public prayers and offices in order to keep Sunday holy. The processions of Rogation Days and Corpus Christi were carried out with pomp and splendor. The people urged Meurin to ask for a military escort in honor of the Blessed Sacrament. But the commandant refused the request, when the missioner approached him on the subject.[8]

[7] Gibault to Briand, October, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 23, *IHC,* XVI, 615.

[8] Meurin to Briand, March 23, 1767, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 4, *IHC,* XI, 522; same to same, June 11, 1768, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 9, *IHC,* XVI, 307; Gibault to Briand, February 15, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 13, *IHC,* XVI, 500; Briand to Meurin, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 15, *IHC,* XVI, 533; Gibault to Briand, June 15, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 18, *IHC,* XVI, 560; Briand to Gibault, March 22, 1770, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 21, University of Illinois *Transcripts;* Meurin to Briand, June 11, 1770, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 26, *Transcripts.*

Protestants of the villages, generally, attended Catholic services. At the sacrifice of the Mass, benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, and when communion was carried to the sick, non-Catholics were present. They usually stood in the rear of the church, although they were forbidden by the commandants, Sterling and Farmar, to assist at Catholic services, unless they conformed to the etiquette of the Church. Bishop Briand, however, cautioned the missioners against publicly requiring any sign of religion from the Protestants at services; he advised that in conversation with non-Catholics the missioner should explain devotions to them.

The Anglicans, whom Briand characterized "as less contrary than the Puritans,"[9] sought an establishment in the Illinois Country as early as 1766. In a proposal submitted to the ministry for colonization it was suggested that five hundred acres be reserved in every township for the maintenance of a clergyman of the Established Church of England.[10] But the scheme was never carried out.[11] Even the dead Protestant furnished a problem for the missioner. There was only one burial place — the Catholic cemetery, inasmuch as the villages had always been exclusively Catholic until the coming of the English. The Protestants who died were therefore buried in the God's Acre of the village, in a place apart from bodies of the faithful. Duelists, heretics, free-thinkers, and those who had refused the sacraments on their death-bed found a common resting place.[12]

There were many hardships in the missioner's life. The most robust of men could not serve long.[13] The missioner must be willing to endure hunger and thirst and keep a perpetual lent.[14] By

[9] Meurin to Briand, June 11, 1768, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois*, 9, *IHC*, XVI, 307; Briand to Meurin, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois*, 15, *IHC*, XVI, 530.

[10] Lansdowne *Mss.*, XLVIII, 95, *IHC*, XI, 255.

[11] Carter, C. E., *Great Britain and the Illinois Country 1763-1774* (1910), 103-144.

[12] Meurin to Briand, June 14, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois*, 16, *IHC*, XVI, 554.

[13] Meurin to Briand, May 9, 1767, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois*, 5, *IHC*, XI, 568.

[14] Gibault to Briand, July 28, 1768, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois*, 10, *IHC*, XVI, 369.

nature of his calling and the dangers that surrounded him, he had to be circumspect in his association: little social life could be indulged in.[15] The accomplishment of his work led him over long, tedious, and dangerous journeys. The circuit of the missions was made twice a year, once in the springtime and again in the autumn.[16] Emergency sick-calls were taken care of immediately upon their receipt. "At this moment," wrote Meurin, "I am called to go to a man who is dangerously ill at Ste. Genevieve, thirty leagues from Cahokia, where I have been only three days. I am forced to leave undone three-fourths of the work here."[17] There were difficult journeys made by horse, on foot, and by canoes, through trackless forests, desolate prairies, and across swollen streams.[18] In 1775 Gibault reported his fourth mission tour, the shortest of which was five hundred leagues.[19] On these longer journeys he was absent for several months; this particular trip took from March until November. While journeying overland, it quite frequently happened that the missioner did not sleep in a bed for several nights.[20]

Aside from the discomforts of the journey, various dangers constantly threatened the missioner. Possible attack from wild animals was always a source of peril.[21] But the traveller's greatest anxiety came from the Indians. The Chickasaws and Cherokees threatened the whites constantly, particularly along the eighty leagues of woodland path between Kaskaskia and Vincennes. To fall into their hands was to expose oneself to the danger of being scalped. Within the year after Gibault's arrival in the Illinois Country

[15] Gibault to Briand, October, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 23, *IHC,* XVI, 620.

[16] Muerin to Briand, March 23, 1767, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 4, *IHC,* XI, 521.

[17] Meurin to Briand, May 9, 1767, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 5, *IHC,* XI, 568.

[18] Meurin to Briand, June 14, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 16, *IHC,* XVI, 548.

[19] Gibault to Briand, October 9, 1775, *AAQ, RACHS,* XX (1909), 422.

[20] Gibault to Briand, October, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 23, *IHC,* XVI, 608.

[21] *Ibid.*

twenty-two men had been killed, some burned alive, by the savages.[22] And between March 30, 1770 and June 15, 1770 there were fourteen men sacrificed to the savages' lust for blood.[23] As a consequence Gibault not only went armed, but he also took an escort of ten to twenty men with him on his first trip to Vincennes.[24] But three years later he had given up the practice of carrying firearms.[25] He related that three times he had been captured and released by the Indians, only after he had promised not to reveal the fact of his capture.[26] Of these journeys Meurin wrote: "M. Gibault is full of ardor and will not last long, if he is alone and often has to go on hard journeys across mountains and streams in all sorts of weather, unless it please our God to renew His ancient miracles."[27]

Exposed as they were, the missioners were frequently visited by illness. Gibault fell a victim to the fever shortly after his arrival, and for several months was almost constantly sick "with chills and fevers, which are the ordinary tribute one pays for acclimation."[28]

But trying as the missioner's life was, it was not without its rewards. Many of the people to whom he ministered in the Illinois Country were as good intellectually and morally as those of Canada.[29] The ignorant ones had to their credit, at least, innocence of all pride in knowledge.[30] Many families preserved the wholesome

[22] *Ibid.;* Meurin to Briand, June 14, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 16, *IHC,* XVI, 552; Gibault to Briand, June 15, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 18, *IHC,* XVI, 558.

[23] Gibault to Briand, June 15, 1770, *AAQ, RACHS,* XX (1909), 417.

[24] Gibault to Briand, October 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 23, *IHC,* XVI, 611.

[25] Gibault to Briand, June 20, 1772, *AAQ, RACHS,* XX (1909), 422.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] Meurin to Briand, June 14, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 16, *IHC,* XVI, 549.

[28] Gibault to Briand, February 15, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 13, *IHC,* XVI, 501; Meurin to Briand, June 14, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 16, *IHC,* XVI, 548.

[29] Menrin to Briand, May 23, 1776, *AAQ, Etats-Unis, Mission des Illinois,* 42, University of Illinois *Transcripts.*

[30] Briand to Gibault, August 16, 1770, *AAQ, États-Unis, Mission des Illinois,* 23, University of Illinois *Transcripts.*

fear of losing the religion which still so greatly influenced their lives.[31] People journeyed all the way from Vincennes to Kaskaskia in order to make their Easter duty or to be married before the priest;[32] and one of the great sorrows of these people was to see one of their loved ones die without the last sacraments. So desirous were they at Vincennes to have the privilege of Mass and the other consolations of religion that they volunteered to pay all the expenses of a missioner from Canada.[33] In their excess of loyalty to the priest, they were jealous of his necessary periods of absence.[34] If a malignant tongue spoke ill of the priest, a hundred others came to his defense.[35] It was not extraordinary for the people's loyalty to religion to show itself even in their last wills and testaments.[36] In these instruments were often expressed the most religious sentiments. M. René Locat, for instance, "commended his soul to God the Creator, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, supplicating His divine goodness by the infinite mercy of Our Lord Jesus Christ and by the intercession of the celestial Court to receive him in the Kingdom of Heaven among the number of the blessed." Significant was the testator's direction that his debts be paid and that if any wrong was found to have been committed by him that reparation be made by his heir.[37]

Typical of their attachment to the priest was the welcome accorded by the people of Vincennes to Gibault on his first visit to them in 1769. As his canoe drew near the shore of the Wabash, all the people crowded near to meet him. Some threw themselves on their knees without being able to speak, while others spoke only

[31] Meurin to Briand, March 23, 1767, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 4, *IHC,* XI, 522.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] Inhabitants to Briand, April 22, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 14, *IHC,* XVI, 522.

[34] Meurin to Briand, March 23, 1767, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 4, *IHC,* XI, 521.

[35] Meurin to Briand, May 23, 1776, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 42, University of Illinois *Transcripts.*

[36] *Cahokia Records,* Will of Charles Marois, November 22, 1774, *IHC,* II, 449.

[37] *Cahokia Records,* Will of René Locat, September, 1779, *IHC,* II, 469.

in sobs. Some cried, "My Father, save us, we are at the edge of hell!" Others rejoiced that God had not yet forsaken them, for He had sent them a priest to make them repent of their sins. And still others lamented that his coming had not been earlier, so that some dying loved one would not have been deprived of the last sacraments. It was on this journey that Gibault had the added consolation of bringing into the Church a Presbyterian family, of more than the average culture for those times.[38]

Gibault was contented. He considered the lot of the missioner an enviable one, to be preferred to all the comforts of a benefice in Canada. It was a rich opportunity for repairing the wasted time of youth, by the many occasions which God offered to employ one's time. In missionary life one had none of the luxuries of life, but one had "the substantials, which is all that is necessary for priests, who are not effeminate, and who labor much."[39] His every success, Gibault referred to God as its author.[40]

One of the vexatious problems with which the missionaries had to contend arose from irregular marriages—not an unusual one, however, in the care of souls. The problem presented itself in various types of cases, chief of which was the secret marriages of Catholics among themselves, mixed marriages, and miscegenation, or the union of the French with the Indians. As early as 1750 Vivier noted the inter-marriage of the two races,[41] and the commander at Fort de Chartres in 1767 reported the French as "being continually marrying amongst the Indians."[42] Both the French and English governments had taken measures to prohibit the practice; but frequently as these marriages occurred no difficulty was had

[38] Gibault to Briand, October, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 23, *IHC,* XVI, 610.

[39] Gibault to Briand, October 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 23, *IHC,* XVI, 625.

[40] Gibault to Briand, June 15, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 18, *IHC,* XVI, 557.

[41] *Jesuit Relations,* LXIX, 225.

[42] Reed to Gage, October 28, 1767, *IHC,* XVI, 101.

in obtaining permission from the government.[43] The bishop of Quebec sought to sustain the government's regulations. When news, therefore, came to him of Gibault's officiating at a marriage of a French man with an Indian woman in Michillimakinac,[44] Briand pointed out that the marriage "had displeased the government" and "was forbidden in the time of the French." He further directed that "it will not be authorized at present, either. I had to answer for you on account of this. I excused you on the ground that you might not know the discipline at this point . . . Be careful not to do it again without a written order or permit, so that you may not be again brought into difficulty."[45]

But the problem, as those of kindred nature still do, defied regulation. Repeatedly, therefore, both Meurin and Gibault brought cases of miscegenation to the attention of Briand for solution.[46] The practice adopted by the missionaries, and approved by Briand, was to marry such people, but only to lessen a greater evil, i. e.,

[43] Meurin to Briand, June 11, 1770, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 26, University of Illinois *Transcripts;* Briand to Meurin, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 15, *IHC,* XVI, 529-535.

[44] Gibault to Briand, July 28, 1768, *AAQ, RACHS,* XX (1909), 406-508; Michillimakinac, now Mackinaw, Michigan, was the scene of the first labors of Gibault, on his journey to the Illinois Country: cf. Wood, *Historic Mackinac,* Chapter VI, "The Parish Registers," 90-121.

[45] Briand to Gibault, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 17, *IHC,* XVI, 536; Briand to Meurin, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 15, *IHC,* XVI, 530.

[46] ". . . et d'autres qui se marient dans les nations sauvages éloignées, dans le missouri, dans la rivière des maingenas (Des Moines River), chés les renards, les scioux, et qui reviennent avec des 2, 3, ou 4 enfans et leur femme, leur marriages est-il valide? Supposé la bonne foi et sincérité, doit on leur faire donner un nouveau consentement, etc. je l'ai toujours exigé jusqu'à présent pour sureté". Meurin to Briand, June 14, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 16, *IHC,* XVI, 554-555. "Je vous ai demandé si un jeune homme marié par devant un commandant anglois d'un poste sauvage, avec une infidèle savagesse non baptisée, étoit bien marié. Vous m'avez répondu que non et que la loix angloise admettoit comme la notre l'empêchement de cultus disparitas. Cet homme n'avait prit cette pauvre infidèle que parce qu'elle avait 5 ou 6 mil livres qu'il a employé à recommoder ses affaires, ensuite il l'a chassé." Gibault to Briand, 1770, *AAQ, Mission de Illinois,* 13, *IHC,* XVI, 626.

illegitimacy, and always the missioners required the written permission of the commandant of the post.[47]

Partly because of the lack of missioners and partly because of the disregard of Catholics for the laws of the Church, another phase of the marriage problem, clandestinity, was not infrequent. The matrimonial legislation on clandestinity in the Illinois Country was derived from the decree *Tametsi* of the Council of Trent and the *Declaratio* of Benedict XIV in 1741.[48] For the places where it was promulgated the decree *Tametsi* required the presence of the *parochus proprius* for the marriages of all baptized people; the *Declaratio Benedictina*, however, excepted from this requirement the marriages of Protestants and mixed marriages.[49] That the people of Vincennes, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Prairie du Rocher were obligated by this legislation is clear from the decisions of Bishop Briand upon the many marriage cases submitted to him by Fathers Meurin and Gibault.[50] "In regard to the case of conscience which you propose to me about the secret marriages," Briand wrote, "I have no doubt, on authority of the doctors of the Sorbonne consulted on the question, that the secret marriages of Catholics in your parts is invalid, except in the case of impossibility of contracting before you . . . you must not judge the same about the marriage of the heretic with the Catholic; it is valid even if secret, *positis*

[47] Meurin to Briand, June 11, 1770, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 26, University of Illinois *Transcripts;* Briand to Gibault, April 24, 1771, *ibid.*

[48] Marietti, Petrus (ed.), *Canones et Decreta Sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini* (Taurini, 1913), *Sess.* XXIV, *de ref. matrim.,* c. I, *Tametsi,* 172-175; Gasparri, Petrus Card. (ed.), *Codicis Juris Canonici Fontes,* V (Vatican City, 1930), *S.C.C., Declar. Matrimon.,* 4 Nov. 1741, 967-970.

[49] ". . . decretum 'Tametsi' vigere censetur, scilicet, . . . in dioecesi Vincennopolitana . . . in locis dictis Kaskaskia, Cahokia, French Village et Prairie du Rocher, dioecesis Altonensis." Deciaratio Benedictina extensa fuit . . . ad dioecesim Vincennopolitanam Provinciae Cincinnatensis . . . ad loca dioecesis Altonensis in quibus idem decretum obtinet." *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii,* 1884, Responsa S. Sedis ad Postulata Patrum, cvii.

[50] Meurin to Briand, March 23, 1767, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 4, *IHC,* XI, 521-528; Briand to Meurin, August 7, 1767, *AAQ, ibid.,* 6, *IHC,* XI, 587-589; Gibault to Briand, August 10, 1775, *AAQ, États Unis, Mission des Illinois,* 32, University of Illinois *Transcripts;* Meurin to Briand, May 23, 1776, *ibid.,* 42; Briand to Meurin April 27, 1777, *AAQ, ibid.,* 42.

aliunde ponendis. Such is the decision of the same doctors based on a declaration of the late Pope Benedict XIV about the year 1741, deciding both cases for Holland." While consent in cases of invalidity had to be renewed in the presence of the pastor, Briand cautioned: "You will act in this with the discretion which I discern in you.[51]

Cases of different nature from those of marriage, but none the less troublesome, arose out of the liquor traffic. From the first contact of the traders with the Indians, the former had discovered that the surest way of driving an advantageous bargain was by means of *eau de vie*, in familiar parlance of the Indian, "fire-water". Because whiskey, always intemperately used by the Indians, had such a debauching effect on the savage nature,[52] the Church as well as the king had forbidden the liquor traffic with the Indians, and to the violation of this prohibition the bishop of Quebec attached the severe sanction of excommunication.[53] The legislation worked a hardship where it was not intended; there were certain needs, for instance, which could not be satisfied without engaging in the illicit traffic. Bear oil, used instead of butter, and meat were objects of such trade. As a result, those for whom the sanction of the law meant nothing, procured all the meat and either kept it for themselves or sold it only at exorbitant prices. It not infrequently happened, therefore, that the sick and infirm were deprived of the necessities of life.[54] In response to this and various other difficulties presented by Meurin, who could rarely apply a principle, Briand directed that the solution depended on "the quality of the need; if the need is not of a kind to excuse from

[51] Briand to Meurin, August 7, 1767, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 6, *IHC,* XI, 587-589.

[52] ". . . mais l'eau-de-vie que leur vendent les Français . . . a ruiné cette mission, et a fait abandonner au plus grand nombre notre sainte Religion. Les Sauvages, et les Illinois en particulier, qui sont les plus doux et les plus tractables des hommes, deviennent, dans l'ivresse, des forcenés et des bêtes féroces. Alors il se jettent les uns sur les autres, se donnent des coups de couteaux, se déchirent mutuellement." *Jesuit Relations,* LXIX, 201.

[53] Têtu and Gagnon, *Mandements des Évêques de Québec,* II, 205.

[54] Meurin to Briand, June 11, 1770, *AAQ, États-Unis, Mission des Illinois,* 26, University of Illinois *Transcripts.*

a mortal sin, the reservation holds, *secus minime.*'' [55] In the solution of such cases, the principles which guide in the co-operation of evil were to be followed. And whereas the use of whiskey is not an action essentially evil, Briand stated that, ''It would be, perhaps, too hard to forbid its use in trade for goods necessary, especially, for the sick.'' [56]

The question of church support is a perennial one and there is no surprise when it is noted that the lot of the missions in the Illinois Country presented no exception to the rule, although there seems to have been less cause for complaint than is usually the case. After the confiscation of the Jesuit property at Kaskaskia, Father Meurin found life particularly hard. The failure of the people to support him arose from the people's reaction to Forget's sale of church property,[57] and from the attitude which the government at New Orleans had taken against the Jesuits, for it was purely by way of exception that Meurin was permitted to stay at all in the Illinois Country.[58] To his exhortations at Kaskaskia that the people should support him, they answered that they were not obliged to give anything, when there was no resident pastor. For the four years 1763-1767, during which he ministered to the villages under English rule, he complained that he received no tithes, and as a result his sole source of support, aside from the charity of a few better disposed people, arose from the stipends which he received from Mass intentions. He rejoiced, however, that he ''had the poor on his side,'' but in the meantime he looked to Bishop Briand for an expression that might solve his difficulty with the people.[59] The bishop gave the weight of his authority to Meurin with a directness which could leave no misunderstanding:

[55] Briand to Meurin, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, IHC,* XVI, 533.

[56] "Je fais une grande différence entre un marchand et un homme qui n'achète que pour la vie." To Gibault, April 24, 1771, *AAQ, États-Unis, Mission des Illinois,* 26, University of Illinois *Transcripts.*

[57] Briand to Gibault, March 22, 1770, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 21, University of Illinois *Transcripts.*

[58] Meurin to Briand, March 23, 1767, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 4, *IHC,* XI, 522.

[59] Meurin to Briand, June 11, 1768, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 9, *IHC,* XVI, 300-310.

> No tithes, no sacrament. It is an offering made to God, which the Church assigns for the support of the missionaries, and without it, there would be scarcely any missionaries; it must be paid except in cases of poverty. . . . The rich were not the first to take to religion, and I am often forced to think that they will be the first to abandon it in the last ages of the world.[60]

But Meurin's difficulties in regard to his support were founded on the prejudice aroused against the Jesuits. "They accuse him of being miserly," wrote Gibault, "but I believe it is only a pretext to speak ill of him," for many lies were spread against Meurin's Society. These stories alienated and estranged souls from him.[61] Meurin's temporal condition had improved within the year, however, for he had found relief through the generosity of the people of the little parish at Prairie du Rocher. Inviting him to finish his days with them, they wholeheartedly promised to build him a rectory and to furnish him with whatever he needed for the remainder of his life, regardless of what infirmity might befall him. Meurin always wished to match generosity with more generosity, and he pledged in return never to abandon them and to leave to their church all he had at death. Pressed by the desire to lend help in other villages, Meurin had for his use a servant and a horse and an open carriage for his journeys. "May the Divine Goodness," he wrote to Briand, "keep account of their deeds. Since a year ago I have lacked nothing, I am well and without temporal cares."[62]

However, Gibault, prior to the Revolution, seems not to have had any pecuniary trials. Liked by the people, young and quick to serve their needs, he found them ready to support him. And he in turn reprimanded those who failed to contribute to the care of Father Meurin. The young priest reported in detail to Bishop Briand the tithes for the year: "My tithes amount from two to

[60] Briand to Meurin, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 15, *IHC,* XVI, 531-532.

[61] Gibault to Briand, 1770, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 23, *IHC,* XVI, 622.

[62] Meurin to Briand, June 14, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 16, *IHC,* XVI, 550-551.

three hundred *minots*[63] of wheat and from four to five hundred *minots* of maize or Indian corn. . . . The fees are good enough for the small needs of priests. With these I can live and assist the poor." So generous were the people with him, that he never had to say a word about the payment of the tithes.[64] His experience, however, in this matter up to this time was, it must be admitted, very limited. Bishop Briand rejoiced that Gibault was so well taken care of and suggested that if the poor had not extreme need of his superfluous income that the bishop could use it in the promotion of his many good works, pre-eminent among which was the education of students for the priesthood.[65]

Whether there was serious cause for complaint about the payment of tithes later in the year is not certain, but the instruction of the bishop with regard to church support would indicate there existed some difficulty. He ordered Gibault to teach the people about the subject of tithes. "They are due to God," the bishop wrote, "and if there had been no missionaries, the people would owe dues to God, as to the Author of their nature and of all blessings. This right, ancient as the world, was acknowledged by Cain and Abel." The priest's right to tithes is based upon his service in the ministry and should he be able to reach a mission only once a year, he still has that right of collecting the tithes. The bishop concluded:

> That is what reason and good sense dictate, that is the spirit of the teaching of God and the Church. So much the worse for the priests, however, if they do not do their duty or if they make bad use of what they have received from the people; the latter have fulfilled their obligation, and that is all that concerns them. They are not the overseers of the employ that is made of their contribution. There is

[63] A *minot* was equal to three bushels, but probably from the text is meant an equivalent of the English bushel.

[64] Gibault to Briand, June 15, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 18, *IHC,* XVI, 559.

[65] ". . . si le revenue des dispenses de ces pays la montoit à une certaine somme, et que vous pussiez me la faire tenir, que les pauvres n'en eussent pas la un extrême besoin, il faudroit me l'envoyer, car j'ai ici bien des bonnes oeuvres à faire et surtout pour l'éducation des jeunes étudiants." Briand to Gibault, March 22, 1770, *AAQ, États-Unis, Mission des Illinois,* 21, University of Illinois *Transcripts.*

a higher Judge, God alone, to Whom the priest will render an exact and rigorous account.[66]

The seriousness with which Bishop Briand bore the responsibility of the cure of souls in the Illinois Country was one of the admirable traits of his character. No fact forces itself more frequently upon the student of the correspondence of Briand with his missionaries, than that of his constant concern in these far-off posts of the French frontier; closely allied to this interest was his unfailing affection and loyalty to the missionaries, who were there bearing the "burden of the day and the heats" for him. Under the heavy and formidable charge of the bishopric of Quebec, he was in great anxiety over the fate of the poor Christians of the Illinois Country. Grave as was his care for them, proportionately keen was his joy to know that there was still a Jesuit, in the person of Meurin, in that unhappy country. "Yes," he wrote the veteran missionary, "your presence in those posts fills me with consolation for I hope that you will be disposed to care for those forsaken people." Profoundly grateful to Meurin for his fidelity to his post of duty in helping him to carry his burden, Briand prayed that God would preserve him "in good and strong health" and supply him "with His grace and His spiritual consolation."[67] With a realization that to whom power is given, there devolves upon him who possesses it a correspondingly serious duty of exercising it for the benefit of his subjects, Briand designated Meurin his vicar-general, "because we desire to satisfy in the best way we can our obligation towards the people committed to our care."[68]

In a personal letter to the Kaskaskians, the sentiments of which were meant for all the people of the missions, the bishop took zealous care to reprove them for their laxities and to direct them to a virtuous life. "I do not know," he confided to them, "through what secret movement of God's grace I feel myself dis-

[66] Briand to Gibault, August 16, 1770, *AAQ, États-Unis, Mission des Illinois,* 23, University of Illinois *Transcripts.*

[67] Briand to Meurin, April 28, 1767, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 8, *IHC,* XI, 558-567.

[68] Briand to Meurin, April 28, 1767, *AAQ, Registre de l'Évêché de Québec,* C, 235V, *IHC,* XI, 562-564.

posed to prefer you to many others. The salvation of your souls and the sad situation to which you have been reduced for so long have touched me, and you have been more vividly present to my spirit than if you had been under my eyes." He directed: "You know that the holy Catholic religion in which you had the good fortune to be baptized will be sustained henceforth among you only in so far as you love it and practice its rules with zeal, as of your own accord." [69]

The devoted prelate had the happiness of knowing that the people responded to his solicitude in their behalf. Meurin reported that the jubilee, promulgated by the bishop, April 28, 1767, had been made by a great number, particularly at Cahokia, where all but two had received the sacraments. The majority, too, had responded to the correction of the abuses which Briand had pointed out; and several sinners, who thought themselves abandoned, and of whose conversion Meurin had despaired, took renewed courage at the inspiration of the bishop's ardent zeal and set out again on the road to salvation. "Everywhere," Meurin recorded, "the people are sensible of your truly paternal care and vigilance." [70] Quite frequently the bishop's message rose to an unusual degree of ardor. Always desirous to know how matters stood with that part of his flock, whose distance and want only increased his anxiety and fatherly affection, he charged Gibault: "I beg you to let them know these feelings of my heart and to make them understand how dear and precious their souls are to me and how anxious I am for their salvation." [71]

He singled out Vincennes as particularly meriting the exercise of apostolic zeal.[72] Convinced that a visit there by Gibault would bring forth fruit a hundredfold and that nothing should be left undone to recall the poor lost sheep, Briand enjoined the journey

[69] Briand to Kaskaskians, August 7, 1767, Têtu and Gagnon, *Mandements des Évêques de Québec,* II, 205, *IHC,* XI, 589-591.

[70] Meurin to Briand, June 11, 1768, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 9, *IHC,* XVI, 300-310.

[71] Briand to Gibault, August 13, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 19, *IHC,* XVI, 579.

[72] Inhabitants of Vincennes to Briand, April 22, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 14, *IHC,* 520-523. They petitioned earnestly for a priest.

upon him; "for had there been only one elect he merits from you this undertaking, and the people of your parish [73] ought to lend themselves to it with joy and to sacrifice all in order that the Lord be not deprived of any of his children." [74]

Extending the jubilee granted by Clement XIV in 1769 on the occasion of his elevation to the papacy, Briand again offered the people of the Illinois Country an inducement to reconcile themselves with God and an easy method of atoning for the temporal punishment due to sin. Very beautifully he described its effects:

> The greatness, the grievousness, and the enormity of sin and of the most frightful and horrible crimes cannot prevail against the power and efficacy of the grief, humiliations and passion and precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, all of whose merits are offered to all of us by the Jubilee in such a way that we can draw from them, as from an abundant source and inexhaustible fountain. Let us go to that fountain, therefore, with a large vessel, that is to say with a great heart, emptied of sin and of all attachment to sin. And we shall receive a great portion of graces, capable of rendering us whiter than snow and as worthy of entering heaven as the newly baptized child. Say to my children that I love them in the bowels of Jesus Christ.[75]

The bishop's devotion to these people inspired him with the desire of making a visitation of that part of his diocese, but the cares of Quebec as well as the frail condition of his health prevented the satisfaction of that desire.[76] Nevertheless throughout a long episcopate of nearly a score of years he more than fulfilled his pledge: "As long as they are under my crosier, I shall spare nothing to save them." [77]

[73] Meurin to Briand, June 14, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 16, *IHC,* XVI, 554. The Kaskaskians had protested against Gibault's leaving them, inasmuch as it was from them that he was getting his support, *supra,* 66.

[74] Briand to Gibault, March 22, 1770, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 21, University of Illinois *Transcripts;* and August 16, 1770, *ibid.,* 23.

[75] Briand to Gibault, August 19, 1770, *AAQ, États-Unis, Mission des Illinois,* 24, University of Illinois *Transcripts.*

[76] Briand to Meurin, April 27, 1777, *AAQ, États-Unis, Mission des Illinois,* 42, University of Illinois *Transcripts.*

[77] Briand to Meurin, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 15, *IHC,* XVI, 532.

But effective as was his direct interest in his people, Briand, like a wise general of an army, did his greatest good for souls by the concern and direction he manifested for his priests on the far flung frontier. This interest showed itself not only in his ready and studious solution of their cases—and Meurin's many queries could have been quite an annoyance to a less patient bishop—but also in his counsel, encouragement, and sympathy for the missionary in his difficulties. In keeping with the word of St. Paul to Timothy to "reprove, entreat, rebuke in all patience," Briand put in his letters to his priests the expression of every kind of emotion. He gave vent to the tears of compassion, the tenderness of affection, and the praise of achievement. Fearless in the presence of abuses he administered the sting of rebuke; and as a motivation for work and perseverance, he pointed to the truths of faith.

The priesthood is the jewel beyond price; its lustre untarnished, it must be guarded with the greatest vigilance. That its brilliance be not dimmed, watchfulness, prayer, and work are necessary. Even from a natural point of view a young priest must work in order that he might with some right enjoy repose and tranquillity in old age. But all priests—young and old—should desire only eternal rest; taking as his model the Good Shepherd who had given His life for His sheep, the priest should not lay down his burden until the coming of the Father of the family. And whereas folly brings one to an untimely end, work should be regulated by prudence, charity, and zeal for the glory of God. Time must not be wasted; when not travelling the missionary should study in order to merit the tribute of the proverb: *Timeo virum unius libri.*[78] A priestly life guarded by such devotion to duty must be fruitful. Of the efficacy of the priesthood, Briand had no doubt, for "a priest, who had been ten years a priest, had lived long enough."[79]

Conscious of his helplessness, realizing that nothing can be done without God, the priest must live in dependence on the strength of God. He must be zealous in achievement, humble in success, and patient under trial. With regard to the things of God, the

[78] Briand to Gibault, March 22, 1770, *AAQ, États-Unis, Mission des Illinois,* 21, University of Illinois *Transcripts.*

[79] Gibault to Briand, June 15, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 18, *IHC,* XVI, 559.

priest must guard against worldly measures of value; in the cure of souls the norm must be sought in the realm of the supernatural.[80]

Faith in God should be the foundation of all pastoral work. Inspired by the value of a single soul, the priest mindful of how much the salvation of men cost our Lord, can never lose his good cheer. As Christ's co-worker the missionary is animated by His spirit. The end of priestly labors "comes only when we die victims, as His first disciples, of our zeal and work." The remembrance of the souls for which the priest will render an account will always serve to revive his exhausted courage, renew his blasted hopes, and drive away the spirit of carelessness, weariness, and disgust, very often the forerunners of indifference to the glory of God and the salvation of souls.[81] The impenitence of sinners should not be the occasion of discouragement, but rather the stimulus to zeal and patience, and an exercise in checking self-esteem, for the grace of conversion depends upon God. Prayer, therefore, is the great weapon with which to storm the stronghold of sin. In speaking to the sinner, one should resort only to a mild exhortation.[82]

Sermons in general should rely not so much upon studied effect as upon a simple presentation of fundamental truths. The best form of preaching is catechetical or homiletic. To be dwelt upon particularly are such subjects as the Church, Mass, the sacraments, and the mercy of God. Stress upon the last things always makes a marked impression on souls. The purpose of all preaching is to make religion known. Men who follow the light of reason, illumined by the grace of God, will be won by the knowledge of truth.[83]

Circumspect in his lay associations, the priest should take meals only rarely in the houses of laymen, or in the home of the com-

[80] Briand to Gibault, March 22, 1770, *AAQ, États-Unis, Mission des Illinois,* 21, University of Illinois *Transcripts.*

[81] Briand to Gibault, August 13, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 19, *IHC,* XVI, 580.

[82] Briand to Gibault, March 22, 1770, *AAQ, États-Unis, Mission des Illinois,* 21, University of Illinois *Transcripts.*

[83] Briand to Gibault, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 17, *IHC,* XVI, 536-538; also same to same, August 13, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 19, *IHC,* XVI, 579-584.

mandant of the post.[84] Religion, however, obliges submission to the government; should the commandant interfere or want to encroach in the sphere of religion, it is better, Bishop Briand, directed, if it can be done without prejudice to the law of God, to bend in conscience, rather than to break.[85] In dealing with people it is never good to give way to nor to make a merit of harshness, as is often done in the name of firmness; and in a similar way one should diligently guard against the laxity, which, abandoning the interests of God, calls itself prudence, but it is only a prudence of the flesh, "the enemy of God." Mindful of the dignity of his character the priest should be mild, gracious, and kind; while firm and outspoken in denouncing evils, essentially wrong, the missionary, because of the ignorance of his people, should temporize in enforcing purely ecclesiastical laws. Avoiding precipitation in judgment, he should consult his bishop and, whilst awaiting his answer, should follow the path of moderation and prudence. Zeal, however, must never be slackened, nor less devotion shown to the people's service.[86] No means is to be neglected to procure the glory of God and the salvation of the people.[87] Bishop Briand thought the whole priestly life depended upon the disposition:

> If you love our Lord and His Church, if you are conscientious in consulting before acting, you will do good and never go wrong. I say, never, because God never disappoints those who in difficulty have recourse to Him with simplicity and with confidence. . . . Always remember in the dangers that surround you that you are a man of God and of the Church.[88]

[84] Gibault to Briand, June 15, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 18, *IHC,* XVI, 557-561. Briand had instructed his missionaries to that effect.

[85] Briand to Gibault, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 17, *IHC,* XVI, 536-538.

[86] Briand to Gibault, August 13, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 19, *IHC,* XVI, 579-584.

[87] Briand to Meurin, April 27, 1777, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 42, University of Illinois *Transcripts.*

[88] Briand to Gibault, August 13, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 19, *IHC,* XVI, 582-583.

Although he did not hesitate to correct mistakes at seasonable times,[89] yet in order to win the co-operation of his helpers, Briand more frequently resorted to the use of those invaluable stimuli to work—the expression of encouragement in trouble, praise in success, and confidence for merit. For the faithful missionary involved in the solution of hopeless problems, the bishop had only "praise for the persevering zeal which animated you to work for the welfare of this people;" and he gave expression to his dismay over the sorrows with which the people afflicted Meurin, "Let me encourage you," he continued, "to bear these for the sake of God and of the eternal consolations which He reserves for you and with which men cannot mix bitterness."[90]

And to Meurin's protest of unworthiness and incompetency against being named vicar-general[91] Briand replied facetiously, but reassuringly. To exercise that office in the Illinois Country "neither jurisprudence, nor the pontifical, nor the complete lawyer are necessary. You know your theology and some philosophy, and you have both reason and godliness, with which your letter shows you to be abundantly provided: you can only speak well, act well, and decide wisely." Further, he expressed implicit confidence in Meurin: "I shall be tranquil for that corner of my diocese as long as you are alive."[92] Promising to sustain Meurin "in everything and everywhere," Briand assured him that he had nothing to fear, and counselled firmness and fearlessness, so long as wisdom and charity guided his acts.[93]

But Briand's broad sympathies are shown strikingly in his correspondence with Gibault. Counselling the young missionary, as a father would a son, spurring him on to greater achievements, as a

[89] Briand to Gibault, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 17, *IHC,* XVI, 536-538.

[90] Briand to Meurin, August 7, 1767, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 6, *IHC,* XI, 587-591.

[91] Meurin to Briand, June 11, 1768, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 9, *IHC,* XVI, 300-310.

[92] Briand to Meurin, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 15, *IHC,* XVI, 530.

[93] *Ibid.;* Briand to Meurin, April 27, 1777, *AAQ, États-Unis, Mission des Illinois,* 42, University of Illinois *Transcripts.*

general would a soldier, showing him affection, as a mother would a child, the bishop did not hesitate in using words of stinging rebuke for Gibault's faults. Singularly devoted as they were to each other in the early career of the young priest, in the later years of the missionary's life, there came a breach in their affectionate attachment.

From the earliest period of Father Gibault's missionary career, the bishop followed him with an intense interest. Scarcely had Gibault arrived in the Illinois Country, when the letters of his appointment as vicar-general reached him. Briand made it the occasion of praising Gibault's spirit of self-sacrifice. His willingness to go "into distant lands and to folk unlearned in wisdom and heavily laden with grievous sins," and his benevolence toward these people, as well as his "zeal in honoring our Lord Jesus Christ among them", merited Briand's admiration and confidence. He granted Gibault, therefore, powers of a vicar-general so broad in their scope that he would be able "to say, to do, and to execute" in the Illinois Country "all things which we ourselves, if we were present, would be able to say, to do, and to execute. And we promise that we shall hold to whatever shall be done and carried out by you, our beloved Pierre Gibault."[94] Because of his youth, however, the exercise of his authority was to be subject to the supervision of Father Meurin. Bidding the young missionary to write him in detail, the bishop prayed:

> May our Saviour be with you, and His peace reign in your heart; may He accompany your work and your ministry with His grace; may He preserve you long in the life and in the spirit of the missionary and the good-will, which you showed, when I ordained you. Pray for me as I do for you.[95]

While he asked Meurin to watch over Gibault,[96] Briand counselled the latter to be submissive to the experienced Jesuit. "Your

[94] Briand to Gibault, May 30, 1768, *AAQ, Registre de l'Évêché de Québec*, C, 249, *IHC*, XVI, 294-297.

[95] Briand to Gibault, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois*, 17, *IHC*, XVI, 536-538.

[96] Briand to Meurin, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois*, 15, *IHC*, XVI, 529-535.

accord with him," the bishop wrote, "will help a great deal to reassure me."[97] However, in the ensuing years, there frequently crept into both Meurin's and Gibault's letters to their superior, criticisms of each other. But Briand counselled Gibault: "Experience will teach you many things, which will make you change in sentiment and conduct, if you do not lose the fear of God and zeal for souls. All persons newly in the ministry are naturally prone to consider their elders as too rigorous or too lax. I have experienced it; and when I look back, I am forced to avow that I was mistaken."[98]

Regarding the missionary as "one who seeks and should seek God alone," Briand projected the missionary's life on a very ideal plane. It was a vocation, which exacted of him, who would aspire to its glories, the sacrifice of all human consolation.[99]

FINTAN G. WALKER

[97] Briand to Gibault, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 17, *IHC,* XVI, 536-538.

[98] Briand to Gibault, March 22, 1770, *AAQ, États-Unis, Mission des Illinois,* 21, University of Illinois *Transcripts.*

[99] Briand to Meurin, April 26, 1769, *AAQ, Mission des Illinois,* 15, *IHC,* XVI, 529-535.

MISCELLANY

Bishop Flaget and Henry Clay

In one of the letters to his friend Henry Clay which are printed below Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget refers to himself as "a man who lives with pleasure on Bacon & potatoes." It is a characterization which will recall to some readers the delightful story Archbishop Spalding tells about this French priest who became Kentucky's first bishop and "The Patriarch of the West." When Bishop John Carroll in 1808 recommended the creation of four new sees, those of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Bardstown, Father Flaget, then teaching at St. Mary's in Baltimore, was named to the see of Bardstown. It was an honor he was most reluctant to accept. A very modest man who greatly underestimated his fitness for the appointment, he persisted for two years in his refusal. Finally he went to Paris to consult with his superior, the head of the Sulpician Society. His superior ordered him to accept, and, as he was about to leave for the United States, gave him a singular present—a box of needles and a French book on cookery. "With admirable *sang froid*, the superior observed, on handing him the articles: 'These needles, my Lord, may be of great service to you in the midst of your savages; and as I greatly mistrust their manner of cooking, take also this book.'"[1]

Needles and good cooking were far from being unknown in Kentucky at that time, as Archbishop Spalding, Henry Clay, and other Kentuckians would have been quick to assert. But Father Flaget, having served in the seventeen-nineties as a missionary at Vincennes, knew that they were rarities, unquestionably, in many parts of the vast wilderness diocese of Bardstown in 1810. The see of which he took charge, following his consecration at Baltimore by Archbishop Carroll, then embraced the whole northwestern section of the United States. For the next forty years, down to his death in 1850, the first bishop of Bardstown (and, later, of Louisville) labored faithfully and with eminent success in this rapidly developing frontier country. Under Bishop Flaget the see of Bardstown, as Archbishop Spalding, his successor, once wrote, became to the West what the see of Baltimore was to the United States as a whole: a mother church.[2]

[1] Martin John Spalding, *Sketches of the Life, Times, and Character of Benedict Joseph Flaget, First Bishop of Louisville* (Louisville, 1852), 65.

[2] Martin John Spalding, *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky; from their Commencement in 1787, to the Jubilee of 1826-7* . . . (Louisville, 1844), 183.

It is not the purpose of the writer to dwell here on the life and labors of the Patriarch of the West. But he cannot refrain from calling attention to the need of a good biographical study of Benedict Joseph Flaget.[3] Such a biography, following the trail blazed a hundred years ago by Archbishop Spalding, and utilizing the source material which has since become available, would be a notable contribution to Catholic Americana and to the general history of the formative Middle Period. It would do justice not only to Bishop Flaget's achievements as a teacher, as a missionary, and as the founder and administrator of flourishing institutions, but also to his splendid personal qualities: his gentleness of spirit, his unassuming simplicity, his affection for Kentucky and his "dear Kentuckians," his warm love of America. Such qualities, which endeared him to the people of his time regardless of their religious or political affiliation, are revealed in the two letters which follow, written to his friend and fellow Kentuckian, Henry Clay.

The originals of these letters to Clay are in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress. The first, dated September 21, 1825, is in a recent acquisition called the Thomas J. Clay Collection. The second, dated April 9, 1832, is in the Henry Clay Manuscripts.

BERNARD MAYO

†

7ber 21, 1825

Dear & Hble Sir

In sending my long report to the Hble Lough Borough[4] I wrote as to the Presidt. of a Committy charged to see into the amelioration of litterary institutions, & contented myself to answer as exactly & candidly as I could, all the questions he had been pleased to put to me. But in writting to you it seems to me that I correspond with a Genuine Kentuckn a deep Statesman, & give me leave to add, with a friend to the old bishop of Bardstown.

By what I wrote to you once, & by what you will see in my letter to the Secretary P. T. you will be convinced that though a Frenchman by birth, I am a sincere American by choice & adoption—That I have spent the most precious time of my life in the United States, & that at all times & everywhere I endeavoured to make myself useful to the people with whom I lived.

[3] Richard J. Purcell's sketch of Flaget, *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI (New York, 1931), 445-447, has a rather full bibliography of what has been published. Spalding in the preface to his biography of Flaget mentions some 3,000 letters written to Flaget. The present location of these manuscripts is unknown to the writer and to the archivists both of the Archdiocese of Louisville and of the Mother House of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth.

[4] Preston S. Loughborough, who in 1825 was Secretary of State, *pro tem*, of Kentucky.

The inhabitants of Vincennes in Indiana State, the Gentlemen at Georgetown College near Federal City, those of S. Mary's in Baltimore with whom successively I have spent the best part of my life, will never complain of me, & the kind treatment I receive from them all, at this very time, is a proof of the sincere affection they entertain for me.

Though I am now about sixty two years of age, yet I feel the same desire, the same eagerness for public good which I felt when thirty years of age. Dear Sir, there are great many good works I would do in Ky. were I supported properly by our Govt. or by rich & generous friends. Last year I intended to go to Europe for several good purposes. 1^{ly}. To procure in Bordeaux two or three Sisters of Charity [5] who direct in that City a Manufacture carried on by little orphan children—15 years ago, I visited myself the said manufacture, & I saw several of these children seven or eight years old making more than their living by applying to trades suitable to their age. 2^{dly}. I intended also to procure, if possible, two or three Nuns, of an order called in French Dames *de la Sagesse*, who understand how to instruct Deaf & dumb. I know that there is in Danville an institution of the kind—but the School is a promiscuous one: & I have always considered such schools as extremely pernicious to sound morals. 3^{ly}. I expected to procure in Paris, where I have numbers of excellent friends, a learned Chymist: & as I correspond regularly with people of the first rank in Rome, I expected to collect there fine paintings & engage some celebrated painters & musicians to accompany me to Bardstown &c. But want of means & some domestik reasons prevented me. I have received several invitations to visit Europe once more before I die, & I am almost determined to do it next Spring, or at least to send in my place a Clergyman of my utmost Confidence, in order to enrich as much as possible my dear Kent^{ens}. with learning & fine arts.

I freely & friendly unbosom my heart to your own, because I know that your views for public good are extensive, & that you are possessed with the noble ambition of making the United States independent of Europe. I feel animated with the same sentiments, & if you have it in your power to encourage them, do it, if you please, & you will never repent for it. As for me, I declare it, with confidence, I do not want foreign assistance. A man who lives with pleasure on Bacon & potatoes has no need of applying to our Gener. Govt. for such provisions, he will find them in plenty in Ky. it is not so when I have a mind of erecting public institutions.

With unfeigned sentiments of esteem & sincere friendship, I remain
Dear & Hble. Sir
Your most obedt. & affectionate Servt.

✠ Benedict Joseph Flaget Bishp. of Bardstown

[5] Not to be confused with the Kentucky order, founded at Bardstown in 1812, of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth. Earlier in the year 1825 Henry Clay, then Secretary of State under President John Quincy Adams, had been the guest of honor at the first public examinations of the female students attending the Sisters' Nazareth College, near Bardstown. Sister Columba Fox, *The Life of the Right Reverend John Baptist Mary David* . . . (New York, 1925), 117.

†

Dear & Hble. Sir

Your truly kind & obliging letter was delivered to me yesterday Apl. 8th, & confirmed the important news already given me of the Bill having passed the Senate by your steady & zealous efforts in supporting it.[6] Receive my best thanks, not only for this last service, but for many others you have rendered me, since I had the happyness of being introduced to you. The more I advance in years, & acquire experience, the more I flatter myself with my resolution of not meddling with politicks. For in such neutral position, I am welcome to all parties, as it appears in the present occasion, in which two distinguished members of Congress of various opinion in politicks agree & join together in supporting my cause.[7] Besides, when among my Catholics I perceive that some are influenced & directed by passion or personal motives, I try, to the best of my abilities, to check them, & bring them to what I deem, in my conscience, to be correct, & profitable to our thrice Happy Country. I hope, with the assistance of Alty. God, I will never betray the confidence my fellow citizens have in me: & with a new fervour, I renew, at this moment, the resolution I took in coming into this Country, forty years ago, to consecrate all my days, & my labours to the good of the country I cheerfully adopted.

Your Speech upon the Tariff law [8] came in its proper time; & was read by me with as much satisfactn. as the one you sent me seven or eight years ago, upon the same subject. May all the members of Congress feel about it what I feel myself.

That you may live many years in order to enjoy the fruits of your patriotism, & generous exertions is the sincere wish, & will be the constant prayer of your

Most devoted & affectionate servt. & friend

✠ Benedict Joseph Flaget Bishp. of Bardstown
April 9th. 1832

[6] The bill, advocated by Clay, debated and passed by the Senate on March 21, 1832, called for the remission of import duties paid by Bishop Flaget on certain paintings and other gifts for the Cathedral at Bardstown "presented by two foreign potentates," one of whom was Flaget's old friend in exile, Louis Philippe of France. *Congressional Debates*, 22d Congress, 1st Session, 592-594.

[7] The bill had been championed in the House of Representatives by Charles Wickliffe of Bardstown, who on March 19, 1832, paid an eloquent tribute to his friend and constituent, Bishop Flaget. Wickcliffe was a Jacksonian Democrat. Clay was the Whig candidate in 1832 against Andrew Jackson for the presidency.

[8] Clay's famous speech in the Senate, Feb. 2, 3, and 6, 1832, "In Defense of the American System against the British Colonial System."

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Pio XI e la sua eredità pontificale. By LUIGI SALVATORELLI. (Torino: Giulio Einaudi, Editore. 1939. Pp. 259. L. 12.)

Since the first world war, we have been deluged with books on international affairs, some of them foolish, some witty, and a few wise. Relatively little—even of the wiser writings—is addressed to an understanding of the policy and ideology of the smallest of states and the greatest of institutions. What does appear on this subject is often superficial; and this word applies to what proceeds from friends as well as to what proceeds from foes.

The author of this little book, professor of church history in the Royal University of Naples, is not a foe. To this reviewer he appears to be one of those rare persons who deserves the praise of objectivity. Objectivity has its defects as well as its virtues: one such defect is a certain coldness, a mild secularism in comment on things which are essentially great and stirring. However, Professor Salvatorelli is refreshingly independent of the snarling and carping attitude which is almost a tradition among liberals, even in cases where the liberals are at the same time real scholars. As such we recommend it for the courses in "method" and for those in "methods".

We recommend it also to those who desire to understand the recent developments of church history in its internal meaning and in its relation to world-events. In a book so rich in factual data there may well be errors of detail. In a book so close to events of our own day there is doubtless some fault of perspective. The author occasionally shows the form and pressure of the time, particularly in his chapter on the Lateran treaty and concordat. In his summing up he looks toward a future in which humanism will be a jealous partner in its concordat with Christianity. But at least he does see something to Christian and Catholic values, and he can treat in a prevailingly just and respectful way both the motives and policies of Vatican diplomacy. Above all he sees that this diplomacy is not just an effort to maintain ecclesiastical power and therefore a subdivision of politics; and he gives full weight to the fact that behind ecclesiastical policy there is a dogmatic and moral conviction, that behind notes

and protocols there are encyclicals, and that consequently the policy of Rome is on the plane where statesmen are concerned with the welfare of peoples.

The introductory chapter gives a quick survey of the pontificates from Leo XIII to Benedict XV. The author accepts the theory (partly true) of action and reaction as explaining the policies and the changes of cabinets of these pontiffs. In this section it might have been of value to give more prominence to the appearance of the *Codex Juris Canonici* and to an explanation of its fundamental importance in laying the ground work for the coming age. This subject is touched on later in a passage where its treatment seems somewhat incidental. After a chapter on the pre-papal career of Achille Ratti, the author treats of "Catholic Concentration and Expansion". This chapter conveys the papal work for peace and the attitude to the international peace efforts from Versailles to Locarno. It suggests a certain restraint based on a disillusionment, yet qualified by an anxiety to do whatever could be done on a matter so important to humanity. Meanwhile the Holy See concerned itself with the Church itself and with the means that could, under the new conditions, emphasize the catholicity and divinity of her missions in a changing world: the promotion of Eucharistic congresses, the year of jubilee, the mission exhibit and the consecration of the Chinese bishops, the reorganization of clerical studies, the statement of aims of general Catholic education, the effort to bring back the Orientals, the organization of Catholic Action, the proclamation of papal policy on the social question—all these subjects provided a program of really imperial scope which found its ideal point of reference and focus of unity in the great encyclical on Christ the King.

The effort to actuate this gigantic program found shape in the concordatory policy, which is described in great detail and is adjudged by Salvatorelli to have left the Vatican with a favorable balance after all the arrangements had been concluded. This chapter gives an admirable idea of the scope and sweep of the matters that claimed the attention of the great pontiff. The pages on the Lateran treaty have interesting details, especially on the preparatory steps which led to it. The author stresses the importance of the concordat as distinguished from the treaty and points out that it was part and parcel of the general effort to arrive at understandings with all states.

The rise of Hitler, the progressive revelation of the policy of persecution of the Church, the cares of the Holy Father and his efforts culminating in *Mit brennender Sorge* are well described. At the same time the author does not lose sight of the pope's concern over the activities of the Left. According to Professor Salvatorelli, he continued to regard the socialist menace as the more fundamental of the two evils, although the pressure of events caused more concern with Nazism. In a world preoccupied with the latter's force and violence, it is well that the Church can remember

the subtler and deeper force of the other evil. This ability to see things on all sides will yet be credited to the roll of the exploits of the papacy.

We can not recall any other book dealing with the recent history of the Vatican which conveys as well as this one the breadth, the unity, the consistency, the consecutive force, the foresight of Vatican activity. Much of the accomplishment has been arrested by the disorders of the present war. As the title of this book suggests, however, the reign of Pius XI has left to Pius XII and his successors an inheritance of broad and deep wisdom which will yet serve in the expansion of the kingdom of Christ.

JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT

Catholic University of America

Hagia Sophia. By EMERSON HOWLAND SWIFT, Associate Professor of Fine Arts in Columbia University. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. xviii, 270. 46 Plates. $10.00.)

The present volume is dedicated to one of man's most daring architectural creations and the most important monument in the development of Byzantine civilization. In recent years attention has been focused on the Hagia Sophia, since the order of the Turkish government enabling the Byzantine Institute of America to lay bare and conserve the mosaics was issued in June, 1931. Thomas Whittemore's uncovering and publication of the mosaics of the narthex and the southern vestibule aroused a new enthusiasm and interest for Justinian's church far beyond the limits of the world of archaeologists. But the author of the present monograph is less concerned with the mosaics and expressly mentions that he did not attempt an extended or detailed study of these. The investigation of the structure and details of the Hagia Sophia, which forms the basis of his discussion, was pursued during the course of an extended visit to Constantinople not many years before the mosque was secularized. More than a month of intensive activity was devoted to studying, measuring, and photographing the church on the spot. The data thus gathered have been put in correlation with the ancient literary sources and with observations of other students from the time of Grelot onward. Thus a sustained effort has been made throughout the work to take into account all available sources and writings on the Hagia Sophia, from the earliest Byzantine references down to the most recent periodical literature. There is only one important exception which the reviewer noticed: evidently the author did not see A. M. Schneider's latest publication, *Die Hagia Sophia zu Konstantinopel,* (Berlin, 1939); at least he does not mention it.

In recent years there has been a lively discussion on the position of the Hagia Sophia in the history of architecture. We face here again the moot problem "Orient or Rome?". Dr. Swift gives Zaloziecky's opinion that the confusion which has hitherto attended the stylistic study of the Hagia

Sophia has been due to its unreflective classification among monuments of the Byzantine style, a style whose general characteristics and principles of design are essentially opposed to the phenomena of late antique art. According to him the church is much more closely allied to late antique Roman art, esthetically at least, than it is to any of the so-called Christian mediaeval styles with which it is usually grouped. Its essential character and architectural effect depends rather upon the typical late Roman concepts of design in mass and space, and is uninfluenced by oriental methods of design in mass with their almost complete subordination of interior spatial effects, despite the use of vaulting. Excluded equally with the ancient oriental is the possibility of influence from the later Persian or Mesopotamian monuments on the eastern borders of the empire. All essential elements of the Hagia Sophia are, however, shown to have been exclusively derived step by step from the repertoire of forms and effects employed by Roman imperial architecture in either its earlier or its later phases, more particularly from those which appeared in the great secular *thermae* and palaces. The imperial style of the West is the starting point. It was here that the concept of vaulted space as an optical phenomenon dependent upon contrasts of light and shade, originated. The reviewer does not believe that the answer to the question "Rome or Orient?" which is given here regarding the Hagia Sophia will be final. The new publication of Dr. Schneider mentioned above finds the prototypes of Justinian's church in the East. It would seem that a definite settlement of the whole problem is impossible as long as the excavations in the orient are only in a preliminary state.

Dr. Swift has served the cause of scholarship excellently in this important study of the complicated history and structure of this great imperial church, especially since it is the first monograph on the Hagia Sophia in the English language. The author combines an easy and interesting style with an excellent analysis and presentation. The American Council of Learned Societies has generously contributed funds to assist in the publication of this book which is enhanced by thirty-four diagrammatic and detail line-cuts and forty-six collotype plates of unexcelled perfection.

JOHANNES QUASTEN

Catholic University of America

A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries. Two Volumes. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1939. Pp. xxxii, 720; 722-1376. 42s the set.)

This splendid work in two stout volumes consists essentially of extracts from and quotations of the documents, mostly letters of the missionaries themselves, and of others who played a part in the events, as the popes

and the shahs. The texts bring the reader into immediate contact with the parts as seen by the actors, and therefore supply us with materials to be used in the reconstruction of the history instead of giving us the conclusions drawn by a historian as to the course of events. The rôle of the anonymous compiler, as he modestly calls himself, is limited largely to paragraphs joining the quotations, and to footnotes giving brief explanations of statements in the documents or to references enabling the reader to identify the sources reproduced in the text. Some may object to this method as detracting somewhat from the readableness of the work, and they may prefer a narrative in which the materials would have been digested so as to form a continuous account; and undoubtedly, the compiler would have been perfectly able to do this, if he had chosen. But the method adopted by him may be defended, and it may be preferred by the student anxious to have documents. In fact we have here a source book, which may be enriched by further discoveries of texts, but which will keep its value. It must not be thought the method followed by the editor made his task easier. As he explains in the foreword, it took years of patient search to locate part of the documents, of careful reading and analysis to gather the abundant materials, which besides had to be translated from several languages into English.

Besides an interesting foreword (I, xxv-xxxii) explaining the genesis and development of the work, the book falls into four parts. Part I, which forms the first volume, gives the history of the mission from 1600 to 1780. It ends with a summary of the Catholic position in the Persian missions about 1806. This part is preceded by an introductory historical review up to 1585, necessary to the proper understanding of the confused situation in which the missionaries were to find themselves at the beginning of the seventeenth century: not only missionaries whose task was to work for the conversion of the people, but also as diplomatic agents for the Holy See or princes or the shahs, acting for the Holy See whose plan was to protect Christian Europe from the ever-present threat of the Turk. In spite of its length (pp. 3-65), no one will complain of the treatment in this section. Part II (pp. 722-777) describes the internal administration of the order, its rule, constitution, and organization, and thus on a number of points enabling the reader to understand correctly the statements and allusions of the documents. This part also describes the means of financing the missions. It contains (p. 773 ff.) a valuable table of the coinages and exchange values mentioned in the documents; without such aid, it would be difficult to understand the statements of the texts. Part III (pp. 781-1026) consists of a series of biographical notices, in alphabetical order, of 167 Carmelite missionaries who were in Persia between 1600 and 1775. The last part (pp. 1028-1265) relates in special accounts the fates of the different missions in Persia proper (Iran), Mesopotamia (Iraq), and western India. Four appendices complete the work.

Among their special features may be mentioned the Latin originals of papal documents translated in the body of the work, and photographs of typed copies of Persian letters of shahs to the popes; these latter are represented in the work itself by photographs of the original documents, and, naturally, in translation. The characters in the typed copies, reproduced in photographs, are rather small, and somewhat blurred in places, a minor inconvenience which has no serious consequences. There is also a map which permits the student to follow the narrative more conveniently. Throughout the work there are also good photographs of portraits of popes and shahs and other important personages, as well as of documents, monuments, and places mentioned in the text.

The work is evidently of special value for the history of the Carmelite order in the first place. But it has a much wider appeal. It is most valuable for the history of the missions in Persia and Mesopotamia, and for the history of other orders engaged in missionary work in the orient. It contains most interesting data concerning the unfortunate Armenian people, the terrible persecutions to which they were subjected, the forced conversion of large numbers to Islam, and their relations with the Latins—where their rôle is not always so praiseworthy. We find here also data of great interest concerning the Jews, likewise the victims of fanaticism, or the so-called 'Christians of Saint John', known otherwise as Sabaeans or Mandaeans, their habitat, language, religion, customs. We may gather information about translations—or plans of translation—of the gospels, and about the different groups of people in Persia in matters of customs, religion and language, and about the English East India Company, the Dutch East India Company, the French Royal India Company. We have, therefore, in this work an abundance of material which may be used in a study of the history of Persia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in studies of the personal history and character of some of the shahs and other prominent personages; in short, a wealth of information most valable to the historian and the orientalist as well as to the reader interested primarily in spiritual and religious questions.

EDWARD P. ARBEZ

Catholic University of America

Catholic Principles of Politics. By JOHN A. RYAN and FRANCIS J. BOLAND. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. viii, 366. $3.00.)

Ever since its appearance in 1922, Monsignor Ryan's and Father Moorhouse F. X. Millar's *The Church and the State* has been recognized as pre-eminent in its field. New times, new conditions, but above all a universal interest in the fundamental concepts of politics, have necessitated a virtually complete revision of the earlier work. *Catholic Principles of Politics* is a revision which retains all the merit of the earlier work, while at

the same time by the addition of new material, particularly a more philosophical basis for some of the doctrines, and by a more comprehensive discussion of others, the work has been improved. The first five chapters are, for example, completely new. The treatment of fundamental principles in the first two chapters on "The Natural Law" and "Natural Rights" are ones that serve admirably for all that follows. They are chapters that ought to be read by every student who wishes to understand both the Catholic and the American position regarding the rights of the human person. Of almost equal value, because of the intense contemporary interest, are the new chapters on "The Right of Self-Government" and "Erroneous Theories Concerning the Functions of the State".

In the preface to the revised work the authors state that the volume has been "designed not only for the general reader but also as a college text", and later that a not inaccurate title for the work, because its underlying principles are found or derived from the natural moral law, would be "Ethical Aspects of Politics". Certainly the book can be adapted as a text for a course in the ethical aspects of politics or one entitled "The Catholic Theory of the State", both of which presuppose a preliminary training in political science. The reviewer here wishes to express the hope that at some future time the Catholic political philosopher will collaborate with the Catholic political scientist to produce a sorely needed text for the introductory course in politics which will combine the advantages of both the philosophical and the scientific approach.

JOHN L. MCMAHON

Catholic University of America

History and Science. By HUGH MILLER. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1939. Pp. x, 201. $2.00.)

In this thoughtful and thought-provoking book, Professor Miller inquires into the relation existing between theoretical science and historical science. By historical science is meant more than human history, since human history is held to be "but one part of the larger history of nature, including biological and other evolutions." The author's theme is that historical science and theoretical science are two complementary approaches to natural knowledge. In the development of this theme the book is divided into three parts. In the first part theory and history are contrasted; the importance of Darwin, the theory and history of society, and the subject of history and physical science are discussed. Part two treats of history and philosophy, the use and abuse of logic, causation, determinism and freedom, and history and religion. In the third part there is a discussion of the movement to an evolutionary conception of nature, the fallacies of dialectical materialism, the intellectual basis of democracy, and the ideal of progress.

In his treatment of determinism and freedom, the author wisely points out the error of certain moralists in thinking that the current scientific doctrine of a radical indeterminism in nature may be seized upon as a defense for psychological freedom. He writes: "Must we not see that a radical indeterminism in nature would be fatal to all that is precious in human faith, and a betrayal of life to sheer unintelligible chance?" Holding that human nature, like all nature, is determinate, Professor Miller holds also that heredity and environment control the course of each human life, but from within rather than from without. Each individual has the power of selection, and therefore freedom is found to lie in this efficacy. This discussion of the problem of freedom could have been greatly strengthened by a more complete statement of the nature and causes of personal freedom and of the various reasons for our affirmation of it.

The chapter on history and religion contains, among other things, a brief and penetrating statement of some of the reasons for the student's loss of faith after leaving the home. The foundations of his faith are attacked "without specific intentions on anyone's part". Scientific knowledge alone is presented to him as veridical and acceptable. It is pointed out that courses in comparative religion involve a conception of religion that is even more skeptical than complete atheism. The author holds that "the Christian record is essentially true", and concludes: "Our general disability today in matters of religious faith would seem to arise from intellectual and scientific confusions, from an inertia of curiosity and intelligence, from a diffidence in the face of religion's practical demands, and partly, perhaps, from the unconscious desire for a new and direct revelation."

Professor Miller's book shows sincerity of purpose, careful thought, and wide reading. In view of all of these, the present reviewer would like to see him turn to sources that will unfailingly stimulate and enlarge his thought. These are the works of the great patristic and mediaeval thinkers and of authoritative modern scholastics. In Catholic theology and philosophy and in Catholic morality and mysticism he will find a new world of light and truth.

JOHN K. RYAN

Catholic University of America

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

Bedae Venerabilis Expositio Actuum Apostolorum et Retractatio. Edited by M. L. W. LAISTNER. Cornell University. (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1939. Pp. xlv, 176. $3.50; to Members $2.80.)

We moderns think of Bede primarily as a historian, and we are unquestionably right in considering his *Historia Ecclesiastica* not only as his chief work but also as one of the best historical productions of the Middle

Ages. But in his own period and for many centuries after, Bede was thought of rather as a theologian, as an authoritative commentator on Scripture, and it was as a theologian that he exercised his principal influence before modern times. Hence it is most unfortunate that his theological works have been so much neglected, and that they have been available only in such unsually defective and bad editions. The present volume is, therefore, most welcome, since it marks the beginning of a modern critical edition of Bede's theological writings.

In his introduction the editor takes up the following matters: I. Earlier Editions of the Two Commentaries; II. Date of Composition; III. The Manuscripts; IV. The Glossary of Geographical Names; V. Bede's Sources; VI. Orthography.

The two commentaries on the *Acts* were chosen for editing because they were composed at widely separated periods of Bede's life, and thus enable us to study his treatment of the same subject at different stages of his scholarly development; because they are especially concerned with textual criticism and are consequently not only important for evaluating Bede's method and worth as a textual critic, but also for supplying significant information on the text-transmission of the Latin bible; and, finally, because they constitute really a pioneer effort, since the *Acts* had been largely neglected by the Latin commentators, and the Greek commentaries were not available to Bede.

The editor has been able to reach more definite and more acceptable conclusions as regards the dating of the commentaries than his predecessors. He holds that the *Expositio* was most probably published soon after 709 but had been compiled from notes made over a number of years, and that the *Retractatio* was most probably composed between 725 and 731.

The text of the *Expositio* is established on the basis of fifteen manuscripts, which fall into two main groups. The editor, moreover, had adequate control of fifty-two other manuscripts containing this commentary. The text of the *Retractio* is based on the complete collation of seven manuscripts, on a partial collation of five manuscripts, and on an adequate control of the readings of eleven additional manuscripts. The editor also examined five conflated manuscripts of the *Expositio* and *Retractatio* and has listed twenty-four unclassified manuscripts ranging from the tenth to the fifteenth century which contain the two works or the *Expositio* only.

Professor Laistner has made a distinct contribution as regards the *Nomina regionum et locorum de Actibus Apostolorum*, the authorship of which has hitherto been very doubtful. On the basis of the best manuscript tradition, he has indicated that, beyond any reasonable doubt, this geographical glossary was compiled by Bede. A critical edition of the work, based on a collation of twelve manuscripts, forms a valuable appendix to the present volume.

The editor has spared no pains to run down Bede's sources so far as possible. Only those having long experience in that difficult but highly necessary labor of identifying citations in mediaeval authors can appreciate the full extent and importance of his contribution there. While he modestly admits "that there may be some quotations or adaptations, especially from Augustine, that he has missed," the reviewer, on the basis of a careful reading of the text, is convinced that no significant citation has escaped detection. The observations on Bede's citations from the Bible should be of special interest to biblical scholars.

The section on orthography contains a critical treatment of Bede's orthography in the light of the evidence furnished by his *De Orthographia* and by the best manuscript tradition, and an explanation of the orthography adopted by the editor.

The Latin text is edited and printed with scrupulous accuracy. Biblical quotations are in italics, while the others are indicated by quotation marks. The critical apparatus is clearly arranged and is sufficiently full to enable the reader to control all variants which in any way can be considered significant. Useless variants have been rigorously excluded.

There are four excellent indices: Index Scriptorum (A. Sacra Scriptura; B. Auctores; C. Codices Biblici); Index Nominum Rerumque Notabilium; Index Allegoricae Interpretationis, and Index Graecitatis.

The following minor criticisms are offered. The unclassified manuscripts listed on page xxxvi would in all probability contribute nothing to the establishment of the text, but some scholars would insist that we should have control of the readings of the earlier manuscripts at least in the list. On page xlv, the discussion of the titles of the two works follows the treatment of *Assimilation* as if it were directly connected with it. The question of the titles is so important that a new heading might well have been introduced here.

The present edition is an outstanding achievement, and it is sincerely to be hoped that Professor Laistner will continue to furnish us with similar critical editions of the theological works of Bede.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

Catholic University of America

The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253. By S. HARRISON THOMSON. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. xv, 302. $5.50.)

In this excellent study the author's principal problem was to decide the authenticity of the writings ascribed to Grosseteste. In consequence, the body of this book falls into a threefold division: authentic, doubtful, and spurious works. To these is added a fourth division: lost or untraced works.

For works which he holds to be authentic, the author opens his discussion of authenticity with mention of the earlier bibliographers who have ascribed a work to Grosseteste, evaluates such ascription, and then adds whatever new evidence he has discovered in its support. Where a work has not been listed by any earlier bibliographer, he gives the reasons which establish its authenticity. Finally, where a work has been judged unauthentic by an earlier writer, he sets forth the reasons advanced for its unauthenticity, and then counters with the reasons which have led him to reject the conclusion of his predecessor and to pronounce for the authenticity of the work. For works which he holds to be doubtful or spurious but which have been ascribed to Grosseteste by one or more of the earlier bibliographers, he exposes, as far as it is ascertainable, the evidence on which such ascriptions were based, and then marshals the reasons which have caused him to reject them.

The author has accepted priority of manuscript ascription as the most reasonable principle for solving the problem of authenticity where doubt has arisen. Because of the delicacy required in establishing such priority, which the author himself is the first to recognize, this principle might be challenged. But as used by the author no fault is found with it. By this is meant that the author takes into account other kinds of evidence—content, style, testimony of contemporary and later writers, etc., and his judgment of a work is not a few times based on these other kinds of evidence. An incidental product of the research into the authenticity of the writings of Grosseteste is a mass of information of incalculable value to the literary historian.

A second problem of this study was to date the manuscripts of Grossetestian works. The author recognizes that this is a delicate problem. For almost every work three manners of dating the manuscripts are employed: XV^{1} (or XV^{m} or XV^{2}), *ca* 1410, 1449. The first manner of its very nature allows considerable latitude and gives rise to no questioning. The third manner is absolute, and though it is not expressly indicated at any place in the book, it can be assumed that manuscripts marked in this manner are dated manuscripts. But when many such manuscripts are dated *ca* 1230, *ca* 1325, *ca* 1410, *ca* 1425, etc., the author, despite his unquestioned palaeographical competence, is risking the accusation of being too precise in their dating. With scholarly caution, however, he writes in the introduction to his work: "It should be noted that a suggested date is intended to allow approximately twenty years latitude either way."

Future historians of Grosseteste will be grateful to Professor Thomson for this work, which is an admirable piece of scholarly research right to the end, where adequate index of names, index of manuscripts, and index of incipits are inserted.

PHILIP S. MOORE

University of Notre Dame

The English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif. By AUBREY GWYNN, S.J. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. x, 295. $5.00.)

A great deal of excellent work has been done on the Franciscans in mediaeval England, but the other orders of friars have suffered from comparative neglect. Father Gwynn came to the study of the Augustinian friars by way of his interest in the Oxford theologians of the fourteenth century, especially in Archbishop FitzRalph from whom Wyclif is supposed to have adopted his doctrine of lordship and grace. So in the present volume it is natural that one of the leading threads of interest is the study of the Augustinian school of theology from Giles of Rome at the beginning of the century, throwing light on the route by which the religious-political theories of an ultra-curialist like Giles were metamorphosed into the anti-hierarchical heresies of Wyclif. This provenance of some of his views helps explain the sympathy of many of the Austin friars for him in his earlier days before he sharply broke with Catholic tradition in his doctrine of the eucharist.

The other most important interest of the book is biographical. The author has been able to bring together enough scattered information on several of the English friars to present them as definite individuals and personalities. And from their controversial writings and more formal treatises he brings out their relation to some of the burning questions of the day. But the friar who receives by far the fullest treatment was one who broke with the ideals and activities accepted by most of his brethren. This was William Flete, who with the permission of his superiors left his studies at Cambridge to spend the rest of his life in a Tuscan hermitage where he became the enthusiastic admirer and friend of St. Catherine of Siena.

The author does not present this book as a definitive history of the fourteenth century friars; rather it is a pioneer work which surveys new ground, and sends down deeper shafts in some parts of the field than in others. We may hope that further search will bring to light material which will tell us more of the social, institutional, economic, and spiritual history of the order, matters on which the present volume gives us only hints. But what Father Gwynn has done is well done, and the volume makes an interesting and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the second half of the fourteenth century.

Only one or two misprints were noticed. But a passing reference to the Benedictines is open to question; it is said that "the abbot of Bury presided by custom over the provincial chapter of the English Benedictines" (p. 215). This is not borne out by the documents edited by W. A. Pantin in *Chapters of the English Black Monks,* where it is seen that the office was elective and was held at different times by the heads of many of the more important monasteries.

CARLETON M. SAGE

Catholic University of America

MODERN HISTORY

Man of Spain. Francis Saurez. By JOSEPH H. FICHTER, S.J. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. 349. $2.50.)

Whether the recent celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the founding of Ignatius Loyola's great Society or the simple fact that hitherto no satisfactory biography in English of Suarez, was the reason for the publication of this book, the reviewer does not know. The more important fact is that the present volume really does meet the demand for a popular life of Suarez. Of the need for such a book there can be no doubt, for Suarez by any critical standard was a unique figure. His literary output was enormous, but more important, his work is uniformly splendid; indeed Suarez must be ranked among the foremost thinkers that the Church has produced.

How well then has the biographer succeeded in presenting his character? The answer must be that the Fichter biography is really satisfactory. In making this judgment, however, it is necessary to keep in mind certain facts. There is little in the life of Francis Suarez that savors of the dramatic. A biographer in search of a character would ordinarily not select Francis Suarez as a man to be made into a book. His legacy to posterity, while genuinely amazing, is nevertheless not picturable. The author has gathered from far and wide all that is known of the career of Suarez. The known facts of his life are rather few. The author was therefore handicapped by a dearth of personal material. Consequently, some may say that this book is too much in the nature of an *apologia* for the activities of the Jesuits, for their code of education, or their relationship with other groups within the Church, especially the Dominicans. But Suarez cannot be dissociated from his age. Indeed much of the character of his work derives from the fact that he was a champion of a cause then under attack in many quarters; had this not been the case says concerning this belief, " I may as well express my belief at this point as the author remarks, " the glory that was Suarez and the enlightenment which flowed from his mind and pen, might have been greatly shaded." Critics may complain that the author leans too heavily on books of a somewhat popular cast, and note that there are citations from Belloc, William Thomas Walsh, Campbell, Fülöp-Miller, Bertrand, and Petrie. But the whole point of this publication is to acquaint more people with this vital character, and a popular approach is definitely indicated. The character of this volume dictated the introduction of material that at first sight may seem extraneous, such as judgments on the falling birth rate in our times, or on modern education, not to forget that the author feels justified in adding that Maisie Ward seems to be afflicted with " insular petulance." But these hypothetical complaints are not to be taken too

seriously. Judge of the forthright character of the book by these remarks: "The religious who scrupulously performs every small action may still be a thorn in the side of his fellows;" or "deception was as much the policy of the Christians as the Moslems."

The author is particularly frank in describing the regrettable controversy between the Jesuits and the Dominicans concerning divine grace, remarking that they "held public disputations in which they tried with more or less rancor on both sides to settle the question." This section, dealing with the controversy on grace, is the finest part of the book, not only because it shows the greatness of Suarez in handling an issue that was proving to be a stumbling block at a time when all the energies and resources of the Catholics should have been employed in repairing the damage caused by the Protestant Revolt, but also because it makes this issue, however regrettable, at least comprehensible and it certainly establishes Suarez's claims to greatness. Whether everyone will agree with the appraisal of Suarez contained in this sentence: "It was on Monday morning, September 25, 1617 that God took to Himself the soul of his ablest theologian", may be doubted; but certainly Father Fichter in this most sympathetic, yet fairly critical biography, persuades the reader that among the theologians of the Church Francis Suarez was indeed *princeps*.

Cathedral College
New York

PHILIP J. FURLONG

Queen Elizabeth. By THEODORE MAYNARD. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1940. Pp. xvi, 339. $4.00.)

It is fair that the author of this very intriguing life should be judged by the rules of the game which he sets up for himself. ". . . . I have been obliged to introduce a certain amount of gossip and conjecture. I am well aware that neither can be considered history. Yet even when gossip is baseless—as much gossip is—it shows, at any rate, what was believed at the time, and to that extent has a historical nature. . . . Inference is indispensable unless the historian is content to be a mere chronicler, or unless his case is so complete—and how often does that happen?—that he can get along without it. The so-called impartial historian is almost always colourless and fails to focus his story . . . so far from pretending to be 'impartial' in the sense of having no personal convictions, I believe a point of view is necessary to the production of any sort of a pattern" (p. 138).

This statement of his belief concerning the function of a historian should have been placed in the very first part of the book. Many historians do not accept this thesis of history, as is amply proved by the attitude towards Mr. Belloc. This is obviously not the place to discuss the

problem of what a historian is entitled to include in a biography. That would require the writing of another book. Mr. Maynard is to be commended for giving us the benefit of his *credo*. He has not made any unwarranted deductions. In no case has the reviewer found that he had more in the conclusion than he had previously posited in the premises.

In this artistically written work, Dr. Maynard satisfies the triple criteria of a book: that it arouses one's curiosity, sustains it, and then satisfies it. The reader's curiosity is aroused by the ever-recurring questions of Elizabeth and the religious problem which she faced, the description of her personality and its curious deviations from the normal order of things, her diplomatic intrigues, her many courtships and the extent to which she influenced others or was in turn influenced by them.

One's interest is sustained by showing that if Elizabeth had been a normal person, the history of England might have been different. Here, the reviewer is using a little of Mr. Maynard's law of inference. He does not state anywhere in his biography that such would have been the case, but it is definitely the impression that one receives. What was wrong with Elizabeth biologically? The author discusses this problem frankly and decently. "In this connexion it is necessary to enquire a little—reluctant as I am to go into such unsavoury matters—into the truth of Elizabeth's *alleged* sexual abnormality. . . . What may be significant is that after her death her body was not embalmed, as was customary. The Council must have been aware that there was a good deal of talk and wished to avoid a *post-mortem* examination. But the circumstance can be taken to prove no more than the existence of the gossip—and that the Council were afraid that it might be proved to be fact. Further than that we cannot go. No medical testimony exists" (p. 33). There is nothing pornographic in the treatment of the question and Mr. Maynard is to be congratulated on handling an extremely delicate and important point in such a scientific and detached manner.

The author states that Mary should have pardoned Cranmer out of policy if not out of mercy (p. 53). "Cranmer was not played with fairly—at least such is my opinion—we are inclined to say, and after he had made his series of abject recantations the rules of the game demanded that he be spared. . . . In any case Mary decided his crime was inexplicable in any other way. In so deciding she gave him the opportunity of taking a spectacular revenge" (p 53). A very interesting deduction! Mary gained nothing by doing what she did; in fact she compromised herself. The reviewer quite agrees with him.

There is a tendency on the part of modern writers of this period to exculpate Elizabeth and her dealings with Rome. It is thought that Cecil and his associates were responsible for this breach. The author says concerning this belief: "I may as well express my belief at this point that Elizabeth was more directly implicated in the permanent breach

with Rome than is commonly supposed. This is by no means to acquit Cecil of responsibility but I think that both contemporary and modern historians have been a little too kind to Elizabeth in this matter" (p. 67).

Did Pius V make a mistake in excommunicating Elizabeth when he did? The problem is taken up rather fully (pp. 182, 192, 198-199). Here there is a difference of opinion between Belloc and Maynard. The latter thinks that the "Earls were to blame because they moved too soon. But that they could not help: Cecil forced them into the open. His spies in Rome had sent him word that the Bull was about to be issued" (p. 192). "The Bull saved Catholicism from utter extinction in England. . . . It acted as an electric shock; it cleared the air as nothing else could have done. Though it reduced the number of Catholics, those who remained faithful were the best among them, and they now became still better" (p. 201).

The reader will be interested in the following opinions of Maynard. "The Bible . . . was an instrument of propaganda, less important than *The Book of Martyrs*" (p. 97). Again: "Few understood that union with Rome was necessary if England was to preserve the faith" (p. 81). Philip II is painted in new colors: as using his influence to prevent the pope from excommunicating Elizabeth before he did. "He was her benefactor and she systematically took advantage of his kindness, repaying it with wrongs—which she denied perpetrating" (p. 117).

The work is beautifully written. There are few citations of sources, which is unfortunate. The bibliography is excellent as is the index, and the illlustrations are superb.

EDWARD V. CARDINAL

Loyola University
Chicago

Essays in Modern English History in Honor of Wilbur Cortez Abbott. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 404. $3.50.)

In such works as his general history of Europe, numerous biographical essays, and scholarly studies in the Cromwellian period Professor Abbott has displayed his abilities in the field of historiography. But for every hour devoted to writing he has undoubtedly spent dozens, perhaps hundreds, in the classroom. Now through the medium of a volume of historical essays presented as a token of gratitude by a group of his former students, we are enabled to gauge his stature as a teacher. By the standards of scholarly research, as well as by those of literary excellence, this *Festschrift* stands as an impressive record of the beneficent results of years of inspirational teaching and painstaking direction.

The twelve essays range over a wide variety of subjects within the scope of Abbott's selected field of special concentration—the late Stuart and

early Hanoverian periods of English history. Some of the best contributions are concerned with the economic phase of British development. "The Vine on Lombard Street" portrays the rise of a typical seventeenth century goldsmith-banking house, its functioning during an era of ephemeral Restoration prosperity, its sharp decline and final dissolution in bankruptcy. Although historians dealing with the third decade of the nineteenth century are accustomed to focus their attention chiefly on the political reforms of the period, it is revealed in the treatise, "From Huskisson to Peel: A Study in Mercantilism", that battles for fiscal reform, though largely ineffectual, were being waged with almost equal intensity.

Characteristic of the contributors' successful efforts to infuse a large element of human interest into their accounts of seemingly jejune events is William T. Morgan's lively description of the general election of 1715. Robert Walcott minutely examines the personnel of parliamentary groups under William and Mary and presents considerable evidence to show that in addition to Whigs and Tories there actually existed two other political parties. Appropriate labels for these segments, the writer concludes, would be Court and Country. Valuable contributions towards a clarification of important details of colonial development and empire expansion are offered in "The Penobscot Expedition", "Acadia and the Beginnings of Modern British Imperialism", "Madras in 1787", and "The Organization of General Sullivan's Army in the Rhode Island Campaign of 1778". The persistence of faulty historical interpretation in the popular mind is well illustrated in Gerda Crosby's essay on George III. Though "careful contemporary investigators are finding in the chronicle of that reign the story of an able, businesslike, and even statesmanlike King", the general public continues to view him as the villain he was long pictured by the English Whig and nationalistic American schools.

The remaining essays are concerned with game law reform, a religio-political group known as the Reconcilers at the time of the Restoration, and some interesting maritime adventures centered about New York during the Napoleonic era. While this volume will appeal principally to students of modern English history, it should attract many of the more serious readers in the general public.

CLARENCE J. RYAN

Marquette University

Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth Century France. By R. P. PALMER. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1939. Pp. 236. $4.00.)

When the average student of the eighteenth century thinks of the philosophy of the period, he turns to the study of the *philosophes*. Deism, rationalism, a highly critical attitude toward the Church, these were the keynotes of what is usually regarded as eighteenth century philosophy.

Professor Palmer's great contribution lies in the fact that he shows the strength of those who were critical of a blind faith in reason alone. In so doing, he follows in the path already trod by Carl Becker in his *Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosopher*. Professor Becker showed that the *philosophe* owed much more to the thirteenth century than he was generally willing to admit, that he lived in an age of faith as well as of reason. He demonstrated the major inconsistencies of a most artificial society worshipping the native savage, of an age of reason punctuated by outbursts of hysteria, of blind optimists plunging into deepest despair. Dr. Palmer goes on to demonstrate that the real fanatics, the most intolerant, were often these very *philosophes*. As the author points out, "They talked much of reason but their sharpest instruments were ridicule and vilification, which enabled them to throw off a man's arguments by defaming his character or belittling his intelligence. La Baumelle went to jail, thanks partly to Voltaire, whose works he had ventured to criticize. Fréron, a conservative and Catholic journalist, was called by Voltaire, in a single work, a scribbler, scoundrel, toad, lizard, snake, spider, viper's tongue, crooked mind, heart of filth, doer of evil, rascal, impudent person, cowardly knave, spy and hound. He found his journal gagged, his income halved, and his career ruined by the concerted attacks of the philosophers. To silence him, at least two of these philosophers, Marmontel and d'Alembert, appealed to the censors whose very existence the enlightened thinkers are supposed to have abhorred." (p. 7). Both the *philosophes* and the Catholics looked to history and tradition to corroborate their views. No one could have been more critical of his sources than Father Harouin, a Jesuit, who suspected all written records ante-dating the fourteenth century. He tried to strengthen tradition through historical scepticism. From the point of historical accuracy, the *philosophes* came off second best with their emphasis upon a pseudo-historical return to the conditions of life among primitive savages, the sage Chinese, and the astute Persian.

Paradoxically, the *philosophes*, who regarded the powers of intelligence so highly, regarded the mind as essentially vacant and inert. The idea of the passive mind, the *tabula rasa*, was indispensable to their system. It was the guarantee that the truths of nature might be perceived without distortion. This was the basis of belief that all men were equal and that they possessed the quality of perfectibility, that they were susceptible to progress. Rousseau had much difficulty with this conception and finally decided that there must be inequality. Jesuit thinkers pointed out that active will made mind more than just a passive object for sensations to work on. The thought that we are forces, not mere sensitized and passible tablets, is greatly more encouraging than the sensationalist stand. *Philosophes* insisted that the souls of bests were the same as those of man. Far from having a tremendous faith in the common man, the *philosophes* sometimes insisted that some animals were more intelligent than man.

tablets, is greatly more encouraging than the sensationalist stand. *Philosophes* insisted that the souls of beasts were the same as those of man. Far from having a tremendous faith in the common man, the *philosophes* sometimes insisted that some animals were more intelligent than man.

Professor Palmer's work is a much needed antidote for the panegyrics which have appeared hailing the eighteenth century as the founder of a belief in the common man and a world of reason. It is to be hoped that he will return to the field in a study of the consequences of *philosophe* thought. The French Revolution was the culmination of their work. Its results, in encouraging the spread of dictatorship and nationalism, are not strange in view of the fact that men such as Rousseau when asked to formulate constitutions for Corsica and Poland became nationalist and conservative. Rousseau justified this as a concession to corrupt human nature. Montesquieu made further concessions in defining virtue as love of the nation. The nationalist implications of eighteenth century thought should be investigated by a scholar as sound and as thorough as Dr. Palmer. No student of the period can afford to overlook a work as vital as *Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth Century France*.

JAMES M. EAGAN

College of New Rochelle

Ireland in the Age of Reform and Revolution. By NICHOLAS MANSERGH. (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.; New York: Macmillan Co. Pp. xiv, 272. $2.50.)

This is not a history of Anglo-Irish relations, from the early years of the Union to the establishment of the Free State, but rather a series of highly selective commentaries upon certain trends and events which transpired between 1840 and 1921. Dr. Mansergh's studies have only confirmed in him a spirit of historical agnosticism. He sees in history only a continuous conflict of forces, whose direction and strength are always changing. The present volume irritatingly reflects this skepticism. It lacks unity, significance, thorough integration. So far as this reviewer has been able to determine, Mansergh started out to write an essay in political analysis; but the book serves as many diverse and uncoordinated purposes as there are chapters.

The volume opens with a digest of the travel journals of three gentlemen (two Englishmen and a Frenchman), who visited Ireland in the eighteen-forties. This is followed by two chapters which give both the Italian and the communist interpretation of the Irish national movement. The second part of the book directs attention to the opinions of three

nineteenth century English statesmen (Chamberlain, Churchill, and Asquith) on the Irish question, chronicles the liberal conversion to Home Rule, and ends with a discussion of the Ulster question in the critical years 1886, 1914, and 1921. The concluding section deals with the economic background of Sinn Fein, the influence of the romantic ideal in Irish politics, and the Irish question in world politics. As an afterthought, perhaps, a final chapter sets forth some reflections on the relative importance of economic and political forces in the development of Anglo-Irish relations.

Yet for all its multiplicity of aims, the book contains much valuable material. There is, for example, an excellent analysis of the Marx-Engels correspondence dealing with Ireland, and Lenin's final verdict. The 1903 solution of the land question, which converted the tenant farmers into peasant proprietors, brought the fundamental conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie into the foreground. By 1913 Lenin, observing the rapid growth of an Irish middle class, singled out this class for special condemnation. The emergence of a bourgeoisie, indeed, should have heralded the beginning of a decisive class struggle for power in Ireland. But no such struggle, as Dr. Mansergh emphasizes, ever occurred. On the contrary, the 1916 Easter rebellion provided irrefutable evidence of co-operation between the prospective protagonists.

JOHN J. O'CONNOR

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AMERICAN HISTORY

The Cultural Approach to History. Edited for the American Historical Association by CAROLINE F. WARE. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. ix, 359. $3.50.)

One of the frank criticisms of the programs of the meetings of the American Historical Association made by President Hutchins in a memorable address, was that they never showed any unity. As if in mute answer to this charge comes this volume of collected papers from the 1939 convention. The papers from that meeting which deal with this newest of historical methods are here presented in an excellent attempt at synthesis. They are separated into six parts: Techniques, Cultural Groups, Institutions, Ideas, Change, and Sources. Thus, while it cannot be said that the resultant treatment is as complete as it might have been if the book were the work of one writer, we have a fairly comprehensive picture of what is meant by the term, "cultural approach".

It may be called a reaction against a reaction. It is a half-way step backward from the extremes of the New History which would have made, if that were possible, the historiographer a specialist in practically every science, or, since that is impossible, would have made every work of history a compilation from several hands. It holds, as a general thesis, that history as it has been mostly written is merely the record of those who were in their time articulate. They left written records behind them, and thus they determined the course which historical interpretation would take. Now it cannot be said, the thesis holds, that this is all of history. A glance at our times reveals that we would not like those times recorded in the future merely by those who have left behind them written records of what had happened, or even of what the people were like who lived in our days. Hence, it is argued, it is the rightful task of the historian to search out all the "cultural" records, especially the unwritten ones, of times past. This book is a first attempt to point out where and how some of these cultural records may be found and how they may be exploited in the writing of history.

Some of the essays are pure attempts at interpretation; some others are of permanent historical value. An example of the latter, an outstanding example, be it said, is Thomas F. Cochran's paper, "The Social History of the Corporation in the United States", with its excellent bibliographical footnotes (though, if he had written later, the author would undoubtedly have included the Reports and Monographs of the TNEC). An attempt at interpretation which did not strike this reviewer as particularly successful is Gray C. Boyce's paper, "Medieval Intellectual History: Ecclesiastical or Secular?" This paper suffers from a defect noticeable in some others in the book: a failure to define terms. In this case it is the word *secular* which will puzzle the reader. One wonders if it means "lay", or "unreligious", or, as in one passage, merely "intelligent." Another essay on the mediaeval period, "Mediaeval Demography", presents some curious *a priori* speculations for a historian.

On the whole, however, the collection will prove highly suggestive to the historian, and it may well, as has been suggested, mark another era in our writing of history. It will move many writers to look again at the records for a confirmation of Mr. Dooley's remark quoted at the head of Miss Ware's introduction: "Histhry is a post-mortem examination. It tells ye what a counthry died iv. But I'd like to know whot it lived iv." If it may not do that, due to lack of materials, at least it may move present-day archivists to preserve more than the written records for the assistance of the future historians of our own days. If it did merely that, it would have done enough.

One technical point: the running heads on both sides tell merely the particular part of the book in which one is. Would it not be an excellent rule to reserve the right-hand running head for the chapter title?

WILFRID PARSONS

Catholic University of America

The American Journal of Ambrose Serle, Secretary to Lord Howe, 1776-1778. Edited by EDWARD H. TATUM, JR. (San Marino: Huntington Library. 1940. Pp. xxx, 369. $4.50.)

As stated in the editor's critical and informative introduction, "Ambrose Serle's journal has unusual interest not only for the specialist in the history of the American Revolution but also for those who wish to understand the attitude of a well-educated civilian toward the Americans and the imperial problems of the day." Serle witnessed the battle of Long Island and the subsequent campaigns to the evacuation of Philadelphia in the spring of 1778, by which time he had lost faith in the British military and civil administration. He gives us therefore not only a first-hand account of these operations, but also a picture of the country and the people. But the most important contribution made by the *Journal* is the detailed account it gives of the writer's contact with leading loyalists, especially with Joseph Galloway in whose company he spent much time. "I never met a man", he wrote, "with whom I could more perfectly agree in Politics than Mr. G."

Serle's own beliefs were that the American colonies, in the draining of men and money from England and in the competition set up on this side, had done the mother country more harm than good; that the supremacy of the British constitution must be made absolute in America; that the Episcopal Church must be here established and supported as the state religion; that naturalization in the colonies must be ended, and the transportation of convicts abolished. "Vast Numbers of Irish are in the Rebel-Army. Many of them are convicted Felons." This was in itself reason for not transporting such people in the future.

Serle's trust and confidence in God were supreme; religious sentiments color his writing throughout. It pleased him to hear the Hessians singing psalms while the British navy and army were "wasting their Time in Imprecations or Idleness"; and he was shocked by the blasphemies of General Charles Lee, then a prisoner, who at one time said: "Give me ten thousand more good fighting Fellows; and God Almighty may take which Side he pleases." But in spite of the psalm-singing he disliked the Hessians and penned: "It is a misfortune, we ever had such a dirty, cowardly Set of contemptible Miscreants." And to him it was presumptive for the Continental Congress to appoint days of prayer and fasting since religion

was thus being employed "in the Service of Sedition and Rebellion" and, "turned into an Abuse, the more diabolical as it pretends to be the more sanctimonious."

Mr. Tatum has done a splendid piece of editing. He has corrected the inaccuracies of former publications concerning Serle's identity, and has for the first time correctly given the facts concerning his position. The footnotes show acquaintance with the history of the period and its bibliography; and there is appended a useful biographical list of the names of all individuals mentioned in the text. This latter is of general value apart from its use in connection with the book.

LEO F. STOCK

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LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest of New Mexico. By JESSIE BROMILOW BAILEY, PH.D. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1940. Pp. 290. $3.50.)

The Pueblo revolt of 1680 dealt Spanish prestige in Old as well as in New Mexico a severe blow. Possibly on this account more than any other the Spanish government bent every effort to pacify the Pueblo Indians and recover what losses had been suffered through the revolt. To achieve this the enterprise had to be entrusted to a man who combined in himself patience with courage, tact with resolution, and forebearance with justice. Such a man the government found in the person of Diego de Vargas, whose career in New Mexico forms the subject of this excellent volume.

After a brief sketch of the 1680 revolt and of the various attempts made between 1681 and 1689 to reclaim the land and its people, the story opens with the northward advance of the army that, fitted out for the enterprise and commanded by Diego de Vargas, left El Paso in August, 1692. Then follow six thrilling chapters, relating how the town of Santa Fe was reoccupied and how the numerous military campaigns resulted in January, 1695 in the final and solemn submission of the Indians. The next two chapters deal with the problems that confronted Vargas in the arduous task of rehabilitating Spain and her representatives in Pueblo land. The volume concludes with a chapter on the revolt that occurred in 1696 and with a final chapter on the last years of Vargas's career in New Mexico until his death at Bernalillo on April 4, 1704.

Church historians will find that Dr. Bailey gives due recognition to the Franciscans who played so valiant and important a rôle in the reconquest of the land where the revolt of 1680 had on that fatal August 10 cost the lives of twenty-one members of their community. It is no reflexion on

the character of Vargas to ask if he could have succeeded in his enterprise without the aid of the friars who inspired the soldiers with courage in the hour of danger and distress, and who gained the confidence of the suspicious natives and thus could once more play the rôle of the pacifying intermediary between these natives and the Spanish military. The author of the volume under review deserves credit as much for the sympathetic manner in which this phase of the reconquest is unfolded as for the fine careful scholarship that is manifest throughout.

The numerous footnotes and the manuscripts listed in the selected bibliography reveal that the account is based for the most part on original sources, while the list of published materials indicates that the author was careful to check what has already been written on the reconquest in the shape of monographs and magazine articles. There is a well-constructed index, one that really helps the reader to find what he is looking for.

Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest of New Mexico must be regarded as an important and valuable contribution to the history of our Spanish Southwest. University and college libraries will do well to procure the volume and make it available to students who are busying themselves with this portion of United States history.

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK

Catholic University of America

The Franciscan Missions of California. By JOHN A. BERGER. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1941. Pp. xiv, 392. $3.50.)

Here is a new and excellent account of that peerless piece of history, the founding of the California missions. Though the story has been told and retold from Hubert Howe Bancroft many decades ago to Mrs. Fremont Older only three years ago, the narrative holds so large a wealth of historical color enriched with ancient romance, that it has now again happily attracted the pen of one who combines the artist with the historian. Enthusiasm has lent charm and fulness to Mr. Berger's facile pen without detracting from the historical authenticity of the substance of the story. An entirely new contribution are the details of mission history and of physical restoration here collectively presented which carries the theme up to the present time. One who but a few years back had beheld in sorrow the crumbling and neglected ruins of Purísima Concepción is consoled and enchanted by the story of its recent restoration. The photographs of each of the twenty-one missions have been freshly taken for the book with an artist's eye and they add an amount of charm as well as substance to the volume.

The plan of this work has been well conceived and artistically carried out. The first six chapters make the historical background of the narrative upon whose solid form each mission is subsequently placed in its proper atmosphere and setting. This section begins with the discovery of California in the early sixteenth century. The Jesuit mission system on the west coast, which made the Franciscan missions possible, is then summarily treated, after which the story narrates the adventure and romance of the more northern Franciscan foundations, the character and habits of the California Indians, and the spirit and religiously energetic personality as a group of the noble Franciscan fathers. This portion ends with a brief but good account of the desolating decline effected by inevitable secularization. Then follow in geographical, not chronological, order twenty-one chapters on each of the twenty-one missions.

In building up the background for the setting of his mission jewels the author misses here and there the exact color of historical perspective. For instance, Friar Marcos de Niza did not "wander among the Moqui pueblos of present-day New Mexico" (p. 10). At very most he but saw one of them from afar. The explorations of the Jesuit Juan de Ugarte in some of the northern reaches of Lower California were brilliant and important; they are here told off in a too generalized and exaggerated manner (p. 21). And one has to smile at the affirmation of "immense power" built up by the Jesuits at the foot of those rocky peaks and along the arid and broken wastes of that thorny cactus patch which is Lower California. It is extremely naïve to assert, as the author does in speaking of the suppression of the Jesuits in Europe, that the Catholic countries "feared that the powerful Order was planning a revolution against the absolute monarchs of Europe" (p. 25). Moreover, the "college" on the site of Mission Santa Clara has now for decades been known as and officially called the University of Santa Clara.

Besides the excellent photos strewn through the volume, cover maps, and a chronological table of each mission with statistics of Indian population and baptisms are an addition to the lucid charm of this engaging volume.

University of San Francisco PETER M. DUNNE

Vida y Obra de un Glorioso Fundador. Apuntes para la biografía del Ilustre Prócer de la Independencia doctor José Vicente de Unda, posteriormente Rector del Colegio San Luis Gonzaga de Guanare y Obispo de Mérida. By HECTOR GARCÍA CHUECOS. (Caracas: Typografía Americana. 1940. Pp. xvi, 214.)

As an assistant in the Archivo Nacional of Caracas, Dr. García Chuecos has published some very useful studies on the history of Venezuela. His earlier volumes dealt with the political and cultural life of the colonial

period. This volume belongs to the period of the republic. The author modestly disclaims any attempt at critical history or a complete biography. For lack of access to the sources, he does not attempt a history of the episcopal work of Bishop Unda. The book consists of two divisions and an appendix. Part I is a sketch of the life of Unda; Part II, a history of the Colegio to 1840. A very valuable part of the book is the generous content of documents in the body of the study and in the appendix. These give a comprehensive documentary history of the Colegio from the foundation of the Franciscan monastery in 1752, and of the properties on which it was built, to the nationalization of the school in 1837.

José Vicente de Unda, born in Guanare, 1777, was graduated from the University of Caracas as doctor in theology in 1799 and returned to serve the Church in his native city. He was a member of the Venezuela Congress of 1811, and signed the declaration of independence from Spain, and the first constitution of the republic. During the war for independence he continued serving his Church in Guanare. He was senator from the province of Barinas to the Venezuelan congresses from 1831 to 1834. From 1825 to 1836 he was rector of the Colegio of Guanare. In 1836 he was elevated to the bishopric of Mérida, where he died in 1840.

This study of Dr. García Chuecos in commemoration of Unda's work was published on the hundredth anniversary of his death. As the facts above indicate, he gave more than thirty-five years of labor to his native city; at the same time he was in the full current of the national life of this very interesting period of Venezuelan history and exhibited an active concern for its progress, political, economic, and cultural. Devoted to the Church, he was able to reconcile its interests to the new currents of thought better than some of the churchmen of his time.

The Colegio of Guanare, established in 1825 under the government of Gran Colombia, was enlarged in 1832 and erected into a national Colegio in 1837. Its foundation and early progress were largely the work of its first rector, Unda, who perhaps deserves larger recognition for his work in this field than as a churchman or statesman. The history of this school, given here primarily in documentary form, is an interesting chapter in the history of education in Venezuela.

MARY WATTERS

Mary Baldwin College

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Right Reverend Henry Hyvernat, last survivor of the original faculty of the Catholic University of America, died on May 29. His reviews and review articles have long been familiar to readers of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. He was born June 30, 1858 at St. Julien-en-Jarrett, France. He was a priest of the archdiocese of Lyons. Trained in Paris and Rome, he was already renowned as an orientalist when chosen for the chair of biblical archaeology at the new Catholic University of America in 1889. Later he became head of the Department of Semitic and Egyptian Languages and Literatures, and established and endowed the Institute for Christian Oriental Research, enriching it with his own magnificent library. In 1903 he helped to organize the *Corpus Scriptorum Orientalium Christianorum*, which at his suggestion was in 1912 placed under the joint auspices of the Catholic University of America and the University of Louvain. His own specialty was Coptic and his principal contributions to scholarship were in that field. In 1919 he received an honorary Litt.D. from the University of Michigan. His native country made him successively a chevalier and an officer of the Legion of Honor. His old friend, Pope Pius XI, elevated him to the rank of domestic prelate, and in the jubilee year of the University to the dignity of prothonotary apostolic. In celebrating its jubilee the University was pleased to bestow upon him an honorary LL.D. Monsignor Hyvernat retained his keen interest in study and research to the very end of his life; he was a constant source of inspiration to his younger colleagues at the University and to the wide circle of scholars who knew him and sought his guidance.

Dom Louis Gougaud died on March 24, 1941. Born at Malestroit in France, he subsequently made his higher studies at the University of Rennes. In 1904 he became a member of the Benedictine Order, and since 1907 he was a capitular of St. Michael's Abbey, Farnborough, England. His historical work was almost exclusively devoted to early Irish ecclesiastical history. An imposing list of his contributions appeared in Belgian, English, French, German, and Irish historical and theological journals. He was also the author of: *Les chrétientés celtiques* (1911), *Gaelic Pioneers of Christianity* (1923), *Dévotions et pratiques ascétiques du moyen âge* (1925), *Eremites et reclus* (1928), *Modern Research with Special Reference to Early Irish Ecclesiastical History* (1929), *Anciennes coutumes claustrales* (1932), *Christianity in Celtic Lands* (1932), *In the Tracks of Irish Wan-*

dering Monks and Scholars (1933), *Les saints Irlandais hors d'Irlande* (1936). In recognition for his Irish research he was honored by the degree of D.Litt. Celt. by the National University of Ireland.

Father Hippolyte Delehaye, S.J., president of the Bollandists, died April 1, in Brussels, at the age of eighty-one. He had been a Jesuit for sixty-four years. Few scholars were better known to the world of historians than Père Delehaye. His contributions to hagiography, too familiar to require listing here, have long been a guiding light to those working on the history of the saints. It is devoutly to be hoped that the work to which he gave his life will not be permanently impeded by the present struggle in Europe.

Dom André Wilmart, monk of Farnborough, died in Paris on April 22, at the age of sixty-five. Dom Wilmart was a rare expert in palaeography and the tradition of mediaeval manuscripts. He prepared the catalogue of the Latin manuscripts in the Queen Christina collection of the Vatican. Many untapped treasures of manuscript lore were made accessible to the world through his articles. Twenty-five of these were collected and published by him in 1932 under the title, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin*. Volume 59 of Studi e Testi (1933) contains *Analecta Reginensia*, twenty texts which he had culled from the *codices Reginenses*. Wilmart had the privilege of being trained under A. E. Havet, Paul Lejay, and especially Pierre Batiffol. Dom G. Morin exerted great influence upon him.

Monsignor Ludwig Eisenhofer, professor at Eichstätt, died recently. His two-volume *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik* (Freiburg im B., 1932) is a valuable aid to the church historian.

Margaret Yeo, Catholic convert and prominent English author, died recently at Uxbridge. Among her writings are biographies of *St. Francis Xavier, Don John of Austria, Greatest of the Borgias,* and *Reformer: St. Charles Borromeo.*

After a lapse of more than a year because of disturbed conditions in Belgium, the periodical, *Byzantion*, edited by Henri Grégoire, will resume publication here in America. The Reverend Dr. Martin J. Higgins of the Catholic University of America, and Dom Anselm Strittmatter of St. Anselm's Priory, Washington, D. C., have been made members of the Editorial Advisory Committee. Publication in this country has been made possible by subsidies. The subscription price for the 1940-1941 volume, a single issue of about 400 pages, is $5.00. Checks should be made payable to the Byzantine Institute, Inc., and sent to Mr. Seth T. Gano, 199 Washington St., Boston, Massachusetts. The language of the periodical will be largely English. The table of contents of the first number, which will

appear on October 1, is very inviting. Our readers are urged to support this deserving enterprise in the rich field of Byzantine history.

As this issue goes to press the first number (January, 1941) of *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* (Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies, Warburg Institute, Imperial Institute Buildings, London, S. W. 7. $5 per annum), edited by Richard Hunt and Raymond Klibansky, arrives in America. The new periodical was originally announced for October, 1939. The number had been almost completely set up in Belgium when communications were cut off. It had to be reprinted in England. The rich contents of the first issue, almost entirely concerned with England, are listed in our section devoted to Periodical Literature. The periodical will appear twice a year.

A new periodical devoted to the history of the countries and peoples of eastern Europe, *The Journal of Central European Affairs*, made its appearance in April. Professor S. Harrison Thomson of the University of Colorado is its Managing Editor. It contains articles of both a scholarly and semi-popular nature, documents, reviews of books dealing principally with the states east of Germany, and a listing of recent periodical literature in the leading western European languages as well as in Magyar. In the initial number Dr. Friedrich Engel-Janosi, a contributor to this number of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, has the first installment of a scholarly article on "Austria and the Beginnings of the Kingdom of Greece."

Another example of a historical journal devoted to matters pertaining to a particular region will be the *Far Eastern Quarterly*, announced for the autumn of 1941. It is to be devoted to the history of eastern Asia and the adjacent Pacific islands, and will be directed by an editorial board composed of nineteen American scholars. Editorial offices will be maintained at the Low Memorial Library, Columbia University.

The Mediaeval Academy of America held its sixteenth annual meeting at Princeton University on April 25 and 26. Mr. Jacques Maritain, who has lectured this year at Princeton University, read a paper on "L'Humanisme de S. Thomas d'Aquin". Many, but by no means all, of the ideas he put forth are contained in his *True Humanism* (Scribner's, 1938). His paper was a brilliant synthesis and will, it is hoped, be printed without long delay. Professor C. H. McIlwain in his paper on "Mediaeval Institutions in the Modern World" defended the thesis on the influence of Roman law which he set forth in his *Constitutionalism Ancient and Modern*—his Cornell Lectures—reviewed elsewhere in this number.

At the dinner the guests were entertained with a remarkable program of mediaeval songs and instrumental music arranged by Professor R. D. Welch, E. T. De Wald, and Oliver Strunk of Princeton.

The Reverend Dr. Gerald B. Phelan of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, was inducted as a Corresponding Fellow of the

Academy. Professor W. E. Lunt of Haverford College was awarded the Haskins Medal for 1941. The many members who attended the meeting are indebted to Princeton University and the Institute for Advanced Study for their splendid hospitality.

Bulletin No. 16 of *Progress of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (University of Colorado, April, 1941. Pp. 132. $.50) is bigger and better than ever. James Lea Cote contributes an admirable review article on "A Decade of American Publication on Medieval Economic History"; Revilo P. Oliger writes a briefer one on "The Italian Renaissance"; S. Harrison Thomson, editor of the *Bulletin*, makes a number of valuable observations in his discussion of the "Editing of Medieval Latin Texts in America". A new feature of this number gives the results of an attempt to get data on the mediaeval and renaissance holdings in American libraries. The findings of a questionnaire on forty-five sets of books sent to some sixty libraries are published. The libraries of Catholic schools, as one might expect, are comparatively strong in this field. The report sent from the Catholic University of America should have included four Academies instead of three, and the Société des anciens textes français.

The University of Colorado Studies, Series B, Vol. I, No. 3 (Feb., 1941), is devoted to eight mediaeval studies: Irene P. McKeehan, "The First Biography of an English Poet [St. Godric of Finchale]"; Paul-Louis Faye, "Germanic Influence on Old French Syntax"; S. H. Thompson, "An Unnoticed Abridgment of the Historia de Preliis [edition]"; Jack D. A. Ogilvy, "A Noteworthy Contribution to the Study of Bede [M. L. W. Laistner's recent edition]"; O. Odložilik, "George Poděbrady and Bohemia to the Pacification of Silesia—1459"; Allen Du Pont Breck, "The Leadership of the English Delegation at Constance"; Edwin J. Westermann, "Emperor Charles IV and Pope Innocent VI"; Paul-Louis Faye, "AOI: Another Suggestion [for the meaning in the Roland]."

A brief history and description of "The Dumbarton Oaks Collection", by Berta Segall, appeared in Vol. XLV (1941), No. 1 of the *American Journal of Archaeology*. This research library and collection in Washington, D. C., was built up by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss and was presented to Harvard University last autumn to be administered as a resident institute of research. The distinctive note of the collection is given by objects of art from the Mediterranean world in the late ancient, early Christian, and Byzantine periods. Miss Segall's article is richly illustrated.

In the course of the year series of lectures were given at Dumbarton Oaks on various aspects of the history of art by Professor Henri Focillon and Dr. Doro Levi. Professor Henri Grégoire gave four lectures on the crusades. Dom Anselm Strittmatter offered a superbly illustrated lecture on "The Iconography of the Eucharist in Byzantine Art."

Father Bertrand Kurtscheid, O.F.M., professor of the history of canon law at the Apollinare, has published a ninety-nine page volume, *De methodologia historico-juridica: Breves adnotationes* (Rome: Officium Libri Catholici, Piazza Ponte S. Angelo, 28. 1941). It is intended for those beginning work on a dissertation in canon law and does not claim to be a complete presentation of method. It will be invaluable to those writing on canon law. Students in history, especially those in the mediaeval field, will find it very useful.

A useful instrument for research in early English history is Alice Ryan's *A Map of Old English Monasteries and Related Ecclesiastical Foundations, A. D. 400-1066* (Vol. XXVIII of Cornell Studies in English, Cornell University Press and Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. 33. $1.00). The folding map distinguishes a dozen different kinds of ecclesiastical foundations and shows the Roman roads. An index identifies the places on the map, gives important dates concerning them, and refers to sources where they are mentioned. The map reveals much work on the part of the author, including a period of research in England. She promises to continue this study.

In his *Ordo Casinensis Hebdomadae Maioris* (Miscellanea Cassinese, No. 20, Monte Cassino, 1941) Dom Theodor Leuterman, a monk of St. Benedict's Abbey, Atchison, traces the historical development of the liturgy for Holy Week as observed at Monte Cassino at the time of its golden age under Abbot Desiderius, later Pope Victor III. The study is based on two manuscripts of the twelfth century and one of the thirteenth, all written at Monte Cassino in the Beneventan script.

The first part (pp. 1-63) of Dr. Alfons Deissler's *Fürstabt Martin Gerbert von St. Blasien und die theologische Methode* (No. 15, Ergänzungsheft der Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige, Munich, 1940) is devoted to the story of the reorientation of monastic studies, especially in philosophy and theology, in eighteenth century German Benedictine abbeys, away from the rigid scholastic formalism, toward more dependence on the original theological sources, on Holy Scripture, the fathers, and the councils. The Abbey of St. Blasien became the center of this "reform" and Abbot Martin Gerbert was its most ardent and most productive spirit.

Historians have been rather unanimous in blaming the Frangipani and Pierleone factions for the papal schism of 1130. Hans-Walter Klewitz in an article, "Das Ende des Reformpapstums", in the *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters* (Vol. III, No. 2, 1939), copies of which arrived in the United States in April of this year, has taken issue with that traditional interpretation, which, he thinks, rests almost exclusively on the partisan contemporary sources. His analysis of the personalities in the

college of cardinals from Paschal II onward, more particularly those of the 42 members of the College in 1130, throws much new light on the subject. The great majority of the older cardinals, men accustomed to the point of view of the Gregorian reform, supported Anacletus II (Peter Pierleone) in 1130, whereas the younger men supported Innocent II (Gregory Papareschi). The leader of the latter group was Cardinal Haymaric, the friend of St. Bernard and chancellor of the Roman Church under Calixtus II and Honorius II. The change in the policies and spirit of the curia was apparent as soon as he took office under Calixtus. The older cardinals, appointees of Paschal II, were shoved aside to be replaced by new men in the administration of the Church. The Frangipani faction did, of course, play a role in the election of Innocent II, but that was engineered by Haymaric in order to get popular support for his candidate; he had done the same in the election of Honorius II in 1124. The hasty choice of Innocent II was, however, not forced by the Frangipani in order to get ahead of their rivals the Pierleone. Deeper issues were at stake. Back of it were the partisans of a new reform movement, that of Citeaux and its circle, a movement that was rapidly captivating the best minds in Europe and which was unwilling to rest satisfied with the Gregorian achievement.

Readers of the REVIEW will be interested in the article of Father Raphael M. Huber, O. F. M. Conv., "Recent Important Literature regarding the Catholic Church during the Late Renaissance Period (1500-1648)", in the March number of *Church History*. In a thirty-four page survey divided into six major classifications, the author reviews under some twenty subheadings the important contributions made in the last fifty years or so to the history of the Church in all phases of its activity. The student working in the field of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century history will find the survey a useful guide to materials which are not always treated in such detail in the general bibliographical guides. Dr. Huber is associate professor of church history at the Catholic University of America.

Christina Hallowell Garrett of Bryn Mawr College describes in the June number of the *Journal of Modern History* a recent acquisition of Yale University, a microfilm copy of Cardinal Pole's legatine Register. This important work, which Miss Garrett characterizes as "a manuscript source of the highest importance for the reign of Mary", is in six volumes and runs from March, 1554 to September, 1557. It provides almost a day to day account of the cardinal's activities as *legatus a latere* of the Holy See. The manuscript has had a troubled history. The original is now in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Douai. Miss Garrett states that nothing is known of how it got to Douai except that it was brought there by English Benedictines. The author says that "very probably it was first carried to Spain, soon after the accession of Elizabeth, by Benedictine fugitives and later was taken to Douai by 'English members of the Spanish Congrega-

tion' who founded St. Gregory's there in 1607." When the French Revolution came, it was in the monastic library of Douai and eventually it came into the possession of the public library of the town. When Douai was captured and held by the Germans in the War of 1914, Pole's Register was among the many materials prepared for shipment by the Germans from the occupied area. It was already baled and corded for the journey to Germany, when an allied force captured the town in 1918 and saved these documents for the Douai library. The war of 1939 brought a new threat to the Register, but fortunately through the efforts of Professor Wallace Notestein of Yale University a microfilm was quickly made. A second microfilm copy has been acquired by the University of Pennsylvania.

The May number of the *Catholic Library World* devotes its article on contemporary Catholic authors to "Monsignor Peter Guilday, Historian of the American Catholic Church." The eight-page appreciation was written by Reverend James J. Kortendick, S.S., who during the temporary absence of the Reverend Dr. Francis A. Mullin is the acting librarian at the Catholic University of America. Even faithful readers of the REVIEW will be astonished at the length of Monsignor Guilday's bibliography. Offprints of the article have been issued by the *Catholic Library World*, Scranton, Pennsylvania.

Dr. Max Farrand's presidential address before the American Historical Association, 1940, is printed in the April number of the *American Historical Review*. Under the title, "The Quality of Distinction", the retiring director of the Huntington Library points out the danger to history in the present crisis and the resulting responsibility and opportunity. His address embodies "the results of observation during many years of study, teaching, and administrative experience". To the same journal Albert Deutsch contributes a detailed account of the care of the Sick Poor in Colonial Times. Our readers will be interested in a document submitted by Philip A. Crowl outlining Daniel Brent's copy of Charles Carroll's Plan of Government, which shows the latter's interest in securing property rights against the "democratic excesses" exhibited at the time. He would accomplish this not by the transfer of sovereign powers to the federal government, but by making less democratic the state constitutions.

As a supplement to this issue of the *American Historical Review* there is separately printed the annual *List of Doctoral Dissertations now in Progress at Universities in the United States and the Dominion of Canada* (pp. 54), which was begun several years ago by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. An important change in the plan of the list has been made: titles, both of dissertations and of more mature research projects which appeared in last year's list are not repeated, but a system of letters is used to refer to the earlier compilation.

At the December meeting of the American Historical Association there was created the American Association for State and Local History which aims to "assemble, arrange, tabulate, and make available to the public information concerning activities in the fields of state, provincial, and local history in the United States and Canada". It also plans to publish a new edition of *Historical Societies in the United States and Canada*. C. C. Crittenden of the North Carolina Historical Commission was elected president; and Miss Dorothy C. Barck, New York Historical Society, secretary-treasurer.

At the 36th annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, University of California, Dec. 29-31, Theodore E. Treutlein, of San Francisco State College, read a paper on "Jesuit Missions in China during the Last Years of K'ang-Hsi"; and Edward Hagemann, S.J., of Alma College, one on "The Persecution of the Christians in Japan in the Middle of the Seventeenth Century." Professor Peter M. Dunne, S.J., of the University of San Francisco, was elected to the board of editors of the *Pacific Historical Review*.

One of the sessions of the 34th annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held in Milwaukee, Apr. 24-26, was devoted to "The Church on the Frontier", at which the following papers were read: "Brigham Young, a Yankee Dictator", by William J. McNiff, Miami University; "The Catholic Church on the Frontier", by Thomas T. McAvoy, University of Notre Dame; and "Frontier Churches in 1850 and 1890", by Clayton S. Ellsworth, Wooster College. At a luncheon conference, Louise P. Kellogg, Wisconsin State Historical Society, discussed the "Ethics of Manuscript Collecting."

The Most Reverend John G. Murray, archbishop of St. Paul, read a paper at the 92d annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, Jan. 20, on "St. Paul: a Church and a City."

Professor Richard J. Purcell, head of the Department of History, Catholic University of America, has been elected president of the Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers. He has been re-elected to the post of historiographer of the American Irish Historical Society.

Professor Louis Pelzer of the University of Iowa has been elected to succeed Professor Arthur C. Cole as managing editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

Professor William T. Walsh has been chosen as the 1941 recipient of the Laetare Medal bestowed annually since 1883 by the University of Notre Dame upon an outstanding Catholic layman. Dr. Walsh is the author of several historical studies, including *Isabella of Spain, Philip II*, and *Characters of the Inquisition*.

Professor Carlos E. Castañeda of the University of Texas, former president of the American Catholic Historical Association, received an honorary LL.D. degree from St. Edward's University.

The fifth volume of Leo Francis Stock's *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America,* now in press, will throw considerable light on the evasive and troublesome topic of the origin and destination of the so-called "criminals" who were transported to the American colonies. Beyond two brief studies which have appeared in the *American Historical Review* little of worth has been written on the general subject; and while some approximation has been made of the number of Irish servants sent, there have not been many lists of names. In 1743 the Irish Parliament called for returns, from every province and county of Ireland, of those transported during the preceding seven years. Dr. Stock prints these lists in full; they show the "crimes" for which they were convicted ("vagabonds" are in the great majority) and in some cases where they were sent; in one list are given the names of persons to whom the cargo was sold and at what prices. These findings will add strength to the claim that there were many more Irish in the colonies than is generally supposed.

A diagram giving the name, date of consecration, and the consecrating prelate of every one of the 531 American bishops since the establishment of the hierarchy in the United States, with explanatory notes, appears in the May issue of *Seminary Studies,* published by Mt. St. Mary's Seminary, Norwood, Ohio.

Dr. Joseph B. Code's article in the June issue of *Thought,* "The Catholic Hierarchy and United States Culture", considers the contribution to spiritual culture made by the pioneers in the wilderness and the Catholic interest in education as shown in the establishment of schools and colleges, and especially in the founding of the Catholic University of America.

In the recently published March 1940 issue of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* John J. Graham continues his study of the "Development of the Separation of the Church and State in the United States of America" with a discussion of the Puritan establishments of New England and of the Church of England establishments, particularly in Virginia; and Sister M. Rita, M.S.C., reviews "Catholicism in Colonial Maryland."

The *Pittsburgh Catholic* printed in its April issues the paper read by John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap., before the Catholic Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Mar. 10, on the "Relations of the Capuchins to Western Pennsylvania prior to 1816."

In *Mid-America* for April Jean Delanglez, S.J. continues his critical essay of Hennepin's *Description of Louisiana* showing that much of it was taken from Bernon's *Relation des descouvertes;* and Russell C. Ewing makes some "Investigations into the Causes of the Pima Uprising of 1751."

In a discussion of the "Northern Clergy and the Impending Crisis, 1850-1860" (*Pennsylvania Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, Apr.), George Harmon has little to say of the yet unwritten part played by Catholic leaders. It is stated that the "Catholic churches were openly conservative"; that because of leadership in Rome the Church "was not jarred apart by the impact of war"; and that "Northern Catholics fought loyally for the Union and Southern Catholics fought heroically for the Confederacy."

A *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in New Orleans,* prepared by the Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration, has been published by the Department of Archives of Louisiana State University (pp. 96). Information is given concerning 54 Catholic churches, 47 parochial and private schools, 17 seminaries, private academies, high schools, colleges, normal schools, and universities; and 22 Catholic homes, welfare agencies, and institutions of charity.

The History of the Diocese of Cheyenne, by the Most Reverend Patrick A. McGovern, fourth bishop of that diocese, has recently been published.

Of permanent value is the description of the *Public Records of the Province of Quebec, 1763-1791,* by Dr. James F. Kenney, reprinted from the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, 3rd ser., section II, Vol. XXXIV (1940). The Mullen Library of the Catholic University of America possesses a copy to which Dr. Kenny has made several additions in manuscript.

The 1939-1940 *Report* of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association prints, in addition to the formal reports of the secretaries, treasurers, etc., list of members, etc., the papers read at the seventh annual meeting, Oct. 1 and 2, 1940. The papers were listed in the January number of the REVIEW.

Florence B. Murray and Elsie McL. Murray have prepared, under the direction of Charles R. Sanderson, chief librarian, a *Preliminary Guide to the Manuscript Collection in the Toronto Public Libraries* (pp. 60). Several items of Catholic interest are noted, such as a list of lands assigned to the Roman Catholic Church, among the papers of William Allan (1770-1853), some letters of Cardinal Newman in the Henry Scadding collection, etc.

Included in the May issue of *Le bulletin des recherches historiques* are: "Les pères Capucins en Acadie", by Ivanhoë Caron; "Extrait du vieux registre des Confirmations"; "Sepulture de Mgr. de Laval"; "La mort

de Mgr. J. O. Plessis", a letter from Monsignor Provancher, Apr. 19, 1826; and "L'industriel Beaudry et le savant Abbé Duchaine", by E. Z. Massicotte.

During the spring the Institute of Ibero-American Studies of the Catholic University of America presented the following lectures: "The New Pan Americanism", by A. Curtis Wilgus; "Inter-American Co-operation for Peace", by Charles G. Fenwick; "Three Eras of Latin-American Policy", by Charles Lyon Chandler; and "Radio and Latin-American Cultural Relations", by Antonio C. Gonzalez.

The University of Miami is making students of Hispanic American affairs her debtors by publishing periodically the series of lectures that are given there under the auspices of the Institute of Hispanic American Studies. This, the second number of the *Studies*, has in content and form kept pace with the high standard set by the first volume that appeared in November, 1939. It contains the lecture series of five eminent scholars. Seven lectures are by Victor Lascano, the Argentine diplomat; three by Juan Ramón Jiménez, the well-known Spanish poet; three by Rafael Picó, whose specialty is the economic geography of Hispanic America; three by Victor Andrés Belaunde, distinguished educator, diplomat, and author; and three by Emilio Carlos LeFort, writer and literary critic. Each of the series of lectures manifests fine scholarship and the volume as a whole is certainly a worthwhile contribution to the various fields of Hispanic American affairs which the lectures cover.

Enrique de Gandía, the well-known Argentine historian, who has recently visited the United States, contributes an article on "Los orígenes del cristianismo en la Argentina" in the August-September, 1940, number of the review, *Universidad Católica Bolivariana* (Medellín, Colombia).

Under the editorship of Guillermo de Zéndegui, the first number of the new *Boletín* of the Interamerican Union of the Caribbean, with headquarters in Havana, has appeared (January-March, 1941). Among the articles published may be mentioned "Los archivos españoles y los archivos del Caribe", by Dr. Roscoe R. Hill, of the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

The Brazilian Ministry of Education and Health is to be congratulated for the recent publication of an admirable Portuguese translation of Gaspar Barlaeus' work on Brazilian history (Amsterdam, 1647) by Cláudio Brandão. Published in Rio de Janeiro in 1940, it bears the title, *História dos feitos recentemente praticados durante oito anos no Brasil e noutras partes sob o govêrno do illustríssimo João Maurício Conde Nassau Etc., ora governador de Wesel, Tenente-General de Cavalaria das Províncias-Unidas sob o Príncipe de Orange*. The book appears in an elegant limited edition of 500 copies.

The Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, Buenos Aires, has, under the direction of Dr. Emilio Ravignani, successfully carried out an ambitious program of publications. Among the latest books to appear under its aegis is *El Libro, La Imprenta y El Periodismo en América* (Buenos Aires, 1940), by the widely known Argentinean scholar, José Torre Revello. Sr. Torre Revello is admirably prepared to write on colonial Spanish America. There is probably no Spanish American scholar more familiar with the archives of Spain than he.

Atanasio G. Saravia, of the Mexican Academy of History, presents an interesting sketch of the history of the city of Durango during the period 1563-1821 in his *Apuntes para la Historia de la Nueva Vizcaya* (México, D.F., 1941), published under the auspices of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History. The book is illustrated with a number of photographs.

A number of documents bearing on the history of the Church in Nicaragua and Costa Rica during the first lustra of the nineteenth century are published in the *Revista de los Archivos Nacionales* of San José, Costa Rica, issue of March-April, 1941, pp. 203-218. In the same number, Dr. Ernesto José Wender contributes a brief article on Spanish culture in the United States in which the name of the Rev. Dr. David Rubio, head of the Department of Romance Languages, The Catholic University of America, appears prominently. General Jorge Volio is editor of the review.

The Venezuelan Ministry of Education is sponsoring a new series of books under the general title of Biblioteca Venezolana de Cultura. Begun on an ambitious scale, the undertaking promises very worthwhile results. The series was launched last year with the publication of the second edition, in three volumes, of Codazzi's scarce *Resúmen de la Geografía de Venezuela*, which originally was printed almost a century ago. This year, a number of important works have already appeared, including *Viaje á las regiones equinocciales del nuevo continente*, a Spanish translation of Humboldt's famous book.

The discourse given on September 26, 1940, by Sr. Celso Vieira, president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, in honor of the fourth centenary of the Society of Jesus, appears in Vol. LX of the *Revista da Academia Brasileira de Letras* (Rio de Janeiro), pp. 202-235.

Several studies have recently appeared on the history of Portugal in the Far East. Among these may be mentioned: *António de Albuquerque Coelho (1682-1745)* (Macau, China, 1939), and *Breve relação da vida e feitos de Lopo e Inacio Sarmento de Carvalho grandes capitãis qve no secvlo XVII honraram Portvgal no oriente* (Macau, 1940), both by Major C. R. Boxer, an Englishman who has long devoted much of his attention to the activities of the Portuguese in the Orient; *A igreja de S. Domingos*

e os dominicanos em Macau (Macau, 1939), *O primeiro acôrdo luso-chinês Realizado por Leonel de Sousa em 1554* (Macau, 1939), *Tamão dos pioneiros portugueses* (Macau, 1939), and *With the Flowery Banner, Some Comments on the Americans in Macao and South China* (Macau, 1940), all by J. M. Braga; *Camões em Macau, contribuições para o estudo do problema* (Macau, 1940), *Macau e a sua diocese* (Macau, 1940), and *A Fachada de S. Paulo* (Macau, 1941), by Father Manuel Teixeira; and *A gruta de Camões* (Macau, 1940), a reprint of an old work by the Portuguese Lafcadio Hearn, Wenceslau de Morais.

The Catholic Faculties of Philosophy and Law were inaugurated in Rio de Janeiro on March 15, 1941. Among those present at the opening ceremonies were the Cardinal Archbishop of Rio, the Apostolic Nuncio, the Brazilian Minister of Education, the Rector of the University of Brazil, and Tristão de Ataíde.

May 15 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Pope Leo XIII's Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. Ten years ago Pope Pius XI issued his *Quadragesimo Anno*.

In 1841 the first Oblates of Mary Immaculate—four priests and two lay brothers—came to Canada from France.

The Congregation of the Sisters of the Holy Cross is observing the centenary of its founding at Le Mans, France.

Documents: Le "Liber exercitationis ad viam felicitatis" d'Alfarabi. H. Salman, O.P. (*Recherches de théologie anc. et med.*, Jan. 1940).— Nouveau fragments théologiques de l'école d'Anselme de Laon. D. O. Lottin (*ibid.*).— New Documents relating to the Journey of Fr. John Grueber [through Central Asia, 1661-1662]. Cornelius Wessels, S.J., (*Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, July-Dec. 1940).—Les filles venues au Canada de 1658 à 1661. Berneval (*Bulletin des recherches historiques*, Apr.).— Journal of Fr. Deluol, S.S.: Ceremonies of Baltimore Provincial Councils (continued). (*The Voice*, May).

BRIEF NOTICES

ALLEN, FLORENCE E. *This Constitution of Ours* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1940. Pp. ix, 198. $2.00.) Judge Allen has here written a short but timely exposition of the federal Constitution that will be of interest to the general reader rather than to the student or scholar. She views the Constitution as an instrument for freedom, and although admitting that certain of the objects of the Constitution are economic, her thesis is that it was written primarily to save the country from monarchy, to allow the people to govern themselves, to protect the people against foreign machinations, and to safeguard the primary personal rights. Her view of the express constitutional grant, "The Congress shall have power . . . to declare war," is not without interest. By confiding the power to Congress, Judge Allen maintains that on certain occasions drastic international action on the part of the executive was prevented and war did not occur "because the people's representatives possessed the power and were opposed to the executive's policy". In the chapter on intervention she is forced, however, to quote with evident approval another writer who declares: "Our legislative body, in respect to the important power of declaring war, has been reduced to a legitimizing agency subservient to the President".

The book contains as an appendix the Constitution and the amendments. There is a quite unnecessary index to the Constitution, a short bibliography, and an index. (JOHN L. MCMAHON)

ANDERSON, WILLIAM. *Fundamentals of American Government* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1940. Pp. 640. $3.00.) This is a condensation of Professor Anderson's earlier and larger treatise, *American Government*. The parent volume, which ran to almost eleven hundred pages, has been reduced to six hundred and forty pages and the material has been brought up to date. The approach employed is "functional" rather than structural and it is this that distinguishes the work from so many others in the field. Particularly valuable material for the student is to be found in the introduction, in which the author treats of the study of American government and the chapters on American governmental units and the vital forces in the American political process. For those who found *American Government* too large, and those handicapped by the attempt to cover the basic course in American government in a semester, this volume should prove most useful. (JOHN L. MCMAHON)

AYERST, D. G. O. *Europe in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. xv, 432. $1.40.) This book offers more than the title promises. In fact, within the compass of less than four hundred pages, the author treats the history of Europe from the eve of the French Revolution to the outbreak of World War II, covering

approximately one hundred and fifty years. The survey, intended in the first place for school certificate candidates in England, is, of course, no contribution to historical literature in the scholarly sense, but a very readable textbook written by an experienced teacher, intimately acquainted with the problems of the classroom. He makes the past, and especially the makers of the nineteenth century, live again in the imagination of the students. Special features of the book are: maps accompanied by historical summaries and explanations which should be of good use in reviewing, visualized figures and diagrams, a very useful dictionary of political terms, a biographical dictionary giving supplementary information about every character whose career is not fully dealt with in the text, genealogical tables or family trees, an alphabetically arranged list of the European treaties between 1789 and 1919 involving changes as to territory. The author laudably quotes freely from the writings of noted historians, speeches of statesmen, articles in newspapers, and historical poems, but he does not furnish book lists for additional reading. Short bibliographies to serve the students as a guide cannot be dispensed with in books of this type. A very satisfactory index is added. (HENRY J. BRUEHL)

BOND, CARROLL T. (Ed). *Proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals, 1695-1729* [American Legal Records, I] (Washington, D. C.: American Historical Association. 1933. Pp. li, 673. $7.50.) This volume of colonial judicial records, prepared with the collaboration of Professor Richard B. Morris, is published with the aid of the Littleton Griswold Fund as the first volume of *American Legal Records*. Representative leaders of the legal and historical professions have planned this series for the presentation of the sources of American legal theory and practice in those formative years when cultural and environmental circumstances caused the development of differences between the colonial and English forms of judicature. A thirty year record of Maryland's highest provincial court is the initial presentation of this joint committee. The document has been supplemented by a well developed introduction by an editor, who has been chief judge of the same court whose early record he has presented. This introduction, possibly the most useful portion of the volume to the general student, provides an adequate summary of the Palatinate's judiciary system, together with an account of the leading personalities found on and in that colonial court. This judicial record will attract the interest of the legal historian. The Maryland practice of non-jury trials upon a criminal's request, or an advocate's incredulity at the honesty of ignorant juries and judges, indicate American legal idiosyncrasy, which the legally inclined student will better appreciate. Only isolated items, however, will attract the historian of general interests.

Catholics will be interested in the practice of Charles Carroll, one of Maryland's outstanding attorneys, even though Catholics were officially debarred. The presence of, and reference to, English decisions and law-books in a Maryland court indicate another aspect of American indebtedness to English culture. Several brief accounts give economic information regarding commodity prices and tobacco exchange. An interesting side-light indicates that one Maryland merchant, temporarily and unsuccessfully, dealt in "elephant's teeth". The largest part of the record, however, is concerned

with legal aspects, expressed in strict legal terminology. The exact reproduction of the court clerk's record with its misspelling and colonial punctuation fulfills the dictates of the scientific school but it does not increase the readibility of a naturally uninteresting type of source material. A subject index, as well as the included index of names, would have made the volume more serviceable for the average historical student. (EDWARD P. LILLY)

BROWE, PETER, S.J. *Die häufige Kommunion im Mittelalter* (Münster i. W.: Regenbergsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1938. Pp. viii, 183.) Before writing this slender volume Father Browe had published his texts on frequent communion up to the year 1000 and a sheaf of articles on various aspects of eucharistic history. He is complete master of his subject. He shows by a great mass of testimony that frequent communion was not a mediaeval practice. His chapters take up the question in connection with the laity; the minister at mass and secular clergy; men and women religious, beghards, beguines, recluses, etc.; and saints. His concluding chapter seeks to find the explanation for the infrequent reception of Holy Communion throughout the ages of faith. An appendix takes up the history of the practice of offering up communion for the dead. Scattered through his work there is much interesting eucharistic lore and a rich bibliography. The remarks on the *Regula Magistri* (p. 62) will need to be modified because of research which has appeared since the volume was published. The notes on page 94 are numbered 17-22 instead of 27-32. There are a few slight errors in the printing of English titles. (ALOYSIUS K. ZIEGLER)

BUCK, SOLON J. and ELIZABETH H. *The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania.* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1939. Pp. xiv, 565. $5.00.) This book, one of a series on western Pennsylvania history, written under the direction of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey, is an attempt "to survey the history of western Pennsylvania in all its aspects down to the War of 1812". It is heavily illustrated by drawings, photographs, and contemporary pictures; there are also fourteen maps and plans, and an index. The book is intended for the general reader, which may account for the absence of footnotes, though there is appended an extensive bibliographical essay of forty-three pages which will satisfy the professional historian in the evidence there given of the wide use made of primary and secondary sources. Dr. Buck, for many years chairman of the American Historical Association's committee on the bibliography of American travel, has naturally drawn upon his knowledge of such material to give flavor to his narrative.

The history of Pennsylvania is one of peculiar complexity. No commonwealth experienced more diversity, not only in its cultural pattern but also in the multiplicity and often conflicting nature of its economic and political forces. There were Indian problems, frontier conditions somewhat different from such conditions elsewhere, military campaigns involving America, England, and France, religious excrescences, diverse racial groups with distinct characteristics, boundary disputes, significant agricultural and industrial developments, and all these reflected in momentous political struggles. Such a picture overlaid with its component details offers no easy interpretation; if the present

work falls short in this respect, there is recompense in the successful correlation of the circumstances of Pennsylvania history with the national scene and in the mass of details picturesquely presented.

Catholic missionaries are frequently met—Anheuser, Baron, Vernet, Queret, Collet, Gallitzin, O'Brien, Causey, Browers, Heilbron and many more; Catholic schools were established near Greensburgh by 1790, at Waynesburg by 1798, and in the Gallitzin settlement by 1800; and such lay leaders as Michael McGuire, John Propste, John Young, Patrick Archbald, and the Ruffner brothers did efficient work for the Church even before the arrival of priests. (Leo F. Stock)

Chinard, Gilbert (Ed.). *George Washington as the French Knew Him. A Collection of Texts. Edited and Translated, with an Introduction.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1940. Pp. xviii, 161. $2.50.) A renaissance of interest in Washington and his times is the apparent characteristic of much current historical investigation. That Washington was a great man and a great leader seems incontestable, for only a great character could survive under such recurring investigation and re-interpretation as that to which Washington has been subjected since his death in 1799. Historians and biographers may bicker, yet the opinions of intelligent contemporaries remain the most accurate indices of contemporary judgment as to the merits or demerits of an individual. For this reason, Professor Chinard's new volume, modest in size, lovely in format, and edited with skill, falls into the category of permanently valuable works on Washington.

Here he is, as seen by men of another nation, soldiers, generals, statesmen, diplomats, travelers, and writers. To all of them without exception, from the uneffusive diplomat Gérard to the eloquent orator Fontanes, Washington was "the valiant and generous leader of a brave nation fighting for liberty" (Barbé-Marbois, 77). If Washington is to be "debunked", do not expect the French to do it! (John J. Meng)

Chinard, Gilbert (E.). *Vashington ou la liberté du nouveau monde. Tragédie en quatre acts par Billardon de Sauvigny.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. xii, 75. $2.50.) Professor Gilbert Chinard adds another item to his significant contributions to Franco-American relations in his edition of this "patriotic tragedy," written by the prolific, third-rate, and quite forgotten "poète-citoyen", Billardon de Sauvigny (1736-1812). The work provides an interesting pendant to M. Chinard's *George Washington as the French Knew Him*, a collection of the opinions of thirty-four historical figures, published last year. This *Vashington* is, of course, quite insignificant as a work of art; it lasted for only two performances when presented in Paris in July, 1791. It is not without importance in the history of ideas. The American Revolution had been a heartening example to many Frenchmen, who saw in Washington a hero in the struggle for liberty and an inspiration for their own cause. This edition is of high quality. The introduction and notes reflect a ripe and civilized erudition and the format of the work (which is illustrated by curious contemporary engravings) does credit to the Princeton University Press. (John L. Brown)

COMMAGER, HENRY S. (Ed.) *Documents of American History.* 2nd Edition. (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1940. Pp. xxii, 1092. $4.00.) This new edition of source selections for American history, supplements rather than revises the earlier edition. One deletion and fifty additional documents, all embraced within the first and second Roosevelt administration, have carried the readings up to the summer of 1940. The majority of these newer documents exemplify legislative, diplomatic, judicial and party aspects of the New Deal. While congressional acts and judicial decisions implicitly possess a social significance, such as social security laws and decisions, or the official non-obscenity of *Ulysses*, the additions may be classified as basically political and constitutional reading. This statement should not be considered as adverse criticism, since contemporary history continues to be a problem of personal evaluation. This new edition of *Documents* contains more recent bibliographical material which makes the volume more valuable to the student. Just as the first edition provided a conveniently organized and a scholarly annotated source book for American history students, so the more recent material of this second edition increases that original value. We may, with good probability, expect a second revision in another five years. (EDWARD P. LILLY)

GOODENOUGH, ERWIN R. *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. xii, 223. $2.75.) Dr. Goodenough, professor of the history of religion at Yale University, has compressed into the short space of a small volume most of the important aspects of Philo Judaeus in his relation to early Christianity and to the history of philosophy of his time generally. As an international authority on the subject on which he here writes, well-known for his technical studies in this field, he presents an introduction which will be welcomed by all who are interested in the rise of Christianity. The adjustments to a pagan society which a devout Jew like Philo had to make with a paganism which he hated, is well brought out. Philo as a political thinker, as a Jew, a metaphysician, an ethician, and a mystic are each given brief but adequate treatment. The survey of Philo's writings and a brief bibliography of the important works on Philo are indicated as direction of further study for the general reader. (CHARLES A. HART)

GRAS, N. S. B., and HENRIETTA M. LARSON. *Casebook in American Business History.* (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1939. Pp. vii, 765. $5.00.) This reviewer, at the outset, must reveal his bias against the case method of instruction especially in so transitional a field as business history. The case method technique, perhaps, has its justification in law where precedents of past thought patterns are heavily relied upon to form contemporary decisions; however, even in this field this fundamental assumption may be challenged in view of the current increasing trend to base legal decisions on governing social philosophy rather than on past precedents.

The failure to adapt the subject at hand to casebook treatment can be evidenced by the format of the book under review which resembles more the conventional texts on "Readings in Economic History" than the usual casebooks which have rolled out of the Baker Field manufactory.

The authors, both of the Harvard Business School faculty, also include a study outline based on a year's work. In spite of certain inherent pedagogical weaknesses this work will stand as a standard text for some time to come. (EDMUND T. SERGOTT)

GWYNN, DENIS. *The Vatican and War in Europe.* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd. 1940. Pp. xxv, 217. 7/6.) "The purpose of this book is to show the remedy and solution which the Papacy has striven ceaselessly to apply to the European conflict since the years before 1914, throughout the last war, and in all the troubled period that followed it" (p. v). Thus does Mr. Gwynn explain his objective, and if an intelligent culling of the papal pronouncements on international relations since the pontificate of Pius X be the standard of judgment, he has performed his task well. The range of the volume runs roughly between the abolition of the concordat with the Holy See by France in 1905 to the arrival of Myron Taylor as President Roosevelt's personal representative at Vatican City in February, 1940. It is not a history of papal diplomacy in those years; it is rather an essay on the peace efforts of the papacy during the twentieth century. The book makes easy reading and for those unacquainted with the policies and efforts of the popes for a better world order, it will repay a perusal.

However, it adds little to what historians already knew, and for that Mr. Gwynn is not altogether to blame since he had no intention of writing a history of papal diplomacy during this period, and if he had, the documentary materials are not accessible. Nonetheless the historian would appreciate a little greater care for exactness and accuracy. For example, the United States went to war on April 6, 1917, not April 24 (p. 44); it was in Paris, not Versailles that the treaties of 1919 were drawn (p. 66); France was invaded twice not three times in the century preceding 1917 (p. 69); Cardinal Pacelli did not go as legate to Lourdes for the "centenary" of the apparitions, since that event will not occur until 1958 (p. 172); and Pius XI was preparing an allocution to the Italian bishops at the time of his death to commemorate the tenth, not the twelfth anniversary of the Lateran accord (p. 173); finally, the present pope was crowned on the balcony of St. Peter's, not in the basilica of the Lateran (p. 174). These examples might be multiplied, and they do not produce a very happy effect in the mind of a critical reader.

Mr. Gwynn makes a number of very interesting observations, but he is hardly justified in representing such as historical facts. For example, one should like to see documentary proof of France's efforts to "mobilise all the Cardinals" in the conclave of 1914 (p. 15); the reader again would wish evidence of Mussolini's conversion to the necessity of a settlement of the Roman Question for the reasons stated by the author (p. 119); finally while the world knew Pius XII was striving mightily for peace in August, 1939, do we actually know that, "in the last days of August the Pope made a direct attempt to organise a conference between the principal Powers" (p. 177)?

Mr. Gwynn's volume suffers too from the fact that the neutrality of Italy, concerning which he is at so much pains to describe — with the implication of the pope's influence restraining the government — was so rudely broken on June 10, 1940, just a few weeks after the publication of his book. Again

the author is unduly impressed by what he regards as the backing given by Wilson to Benedict XV's peace efforts, and is apparently unaware of Ambassador Jusserand's testimony that when he called at the White House following the famous note of August 1 to the belligerent Powers, he found the American president very much annoyed, "The President plainly showed me his ill-humor at Benedict's wanting to 'butt in' [his own words]." (*American Historical Review*, XXXVII, July, 1932, 817-819). (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

JONES, S. SHEPHARD and DENYS P. MYERS (Eds.). *Documents on American Foreign Relations July 1939-June 1940.* Vol. II (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1940. Pp. xxx, 875. $3.75.) The second volume of *Documents on American Foreign Relations*, the first of which was reviewed in Volume XXVI. of this journal (April, 1940) confirms what reviewers generally said of the projected work when they declared that it would prove indispensable to students of American diplomacy. Much larger in size than its predecessor, the present volume contains three new chapters entitled "Moral Embargo". "Department of State and the Foreign Services", and "Treatment of Persons". Two other chapters, the one on "National Defense" and the other on "European Relations", have been for very obvious reasons considerably enlarged. The latter chapter, illustrative of the timeliness and true value of the work, is divided into nine sections which treat of the pre-war efforts for peace, the outbreak of the war, the invasions of Poland, peace efforts during the European war, the invasions of Finland, the invasion of Denmark and Norway, the invasion of Belgium, Luxemburg, and the Netherlands, the French armistice, and relations with the United Kingdom. Wherever necessary in this chapter the editors have furnished documentary background material in order that there might be a fuller understanding of later American pronouncements. The appendix continues to contain much valuable statistical material and there is included in this volume for the first time an index. (JOHN L. MCMAHON)

KELLY, JOHN BERNARD. *Cardinal Hayes, One of Ourselves.* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart. 1940. Pp. xiv, 178. $1.50.) It would be inept to pass a judgment on this book without taking into consideration the author's aim and purpose. He has not written a biography in the scientific sense of the word. He did not feel equipped, as he tells us in his foreword, to be chronologist and historical analyst. Nonetheless he sets his subject before us—the late Patrick Cardinal Hayes—as he really was, not alone in his external works and honors, but chiefly in the citadel of his inner self, in the hidden centers of the soul, where lie the living springs and moving forces of all that makes for a man's character and personality. He tells us of the cardinal's birth and boyhood in the lower east side of New York, of his studies later on in various schools, of his natural traits and endowments, of his ordination to the priesthood, and his rapid rise to prominence in the ecclesiastical world.

We naturally ask, what was the dominating principle in such a life? The author's answer might be summed up in the single word, charity, understanding by it the divine gift so eloquently described by St. Paul in itself and in its many diverse manifestations. Christ was the cardinal's boy hero, and his knowledge and love of Christ grew with the years until at his ordination to

the priesthood it was his burning and abiding will to become, as far as grace would permit, another Christ. There lies the explanation of his love for souls, his compassion for the poor, his sympathy with suffering, and his loyalty to all that concerned Him whom he loved to call by the name of Master.

How that gift was fostered by prayer and meditation and other unsuspected habits of spiritual significance must be sought for in the book, where one will find in addition many a passage of unusual beauty and eloquence. (LALOR R. MCLAUGHLIN)

KEMMER, P. ALFONS, O.S.B. *Charisma Maximum.* (Louvain: Druckerei Fr. Ceuterick. 1938. Pp. x, 126.) Under this title, the author, a Benedictine of Einsiedeln, studies Cassian's doctrine of perfection and the relation of that doctrine to the Messalian heresy. A first section (pp. 1-28) presents the general characteristics of Cassian's teaching about the *charismata.* After an explanation of the meaning of some important terms used by Cassian (pp. 1-3), there comes a study of the author's valuation of the "charisms" (pp. 4-15): holiness of life is better than the external 'charisms' such as the power over demons, gift of healing, etc. 'Charisms' and holiness are not necessarily connected, and striving after those extraordinary favors is condemned by Cassian (p. 14). He places much higher the internal 'charisms' (pp. 15-27): *discretio, scientia,* etc., which are regarded as always connected with personal holiness, and in the case of which no illusion is thought to be possible. In all this, Cassian's teaching does not present any extraordinary points, but rather agrees with the doctrine of ascetic writers in general. The second section (pp. 28-51) considers "perfection" which Cassian regards as a 'charism'. After clearing the ground by reviewing carefully the terminology of the author (pp. 28-38), an important matter, since Cassian applies to the virtues and to perfect the "charismatic" terminology, Father Kemmer reaches the conclusion that, in Cassian's view, perfection is a charism, a conclusion which stands after discounting a number of texts of more or less doubtful interpretation. The third part (pp. 52-119) then compares very carefully and in considerable detail the teaching of Cassian with the Messalian documents represented by the *Liber Graduum,* a Syrian work of unknown authorship written probably in the fourth century (pp. 52-91) and by the *Pseudo-Macarius Homilies,* a work from the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century (pp. 92-109).

The result of this careful comparison (pp. 110-119) is that, while Cassian avoids and even opposes the excesses of radical Messalianism, he has many a point of contact with the moderate form of that error: his thesis is that perfection is a 'charism' in the strict sense, to be obtained, through the fulfilment of the evangelical counsels, especially the renunciation of property and marriage (pp. 120; *Cf.*, p. 111 ff.), as the result of an extraordinary intervention of God, in consequence of which man receives *apatheia,* the complete extermination of sensuality, the fulness of the Holy Spirit, and becomes the temple and image of God, enjoying the fulness of charity and the grace of adoption. Here we have clearly a departure from the traditional teaching which finds its explanation in Messalian ideas (p. 116). Cassian had probably become familiar with Messalianism during his sojourn in the Orient, though

we may not be able to specify the circumstances (p. 121). In any case, the fact is that one must use Cassian's doctrine with a certain degree of caution, while continuing to recognize its general value within the monastic tradition of the West.

This study deserves the highest praise. The author has used his sources very thoroughly and critically, avoiding all excessive conclusions. The work represents a valuable contribution, not only to the study of asceticism, but also to dogmatic theology, in particular on the question of the development of the important notion of grace, and on the value and effects of baptism, points of the greatest theological significance.

There are a few misprints which will be easily corrected by the reader. Thus, p. iv: 1838 for 1938; p. ix: Momiliae, for Homiliae; p. 5: Gundstaz for Grundsatz; p. 28: ein for eine; p. 110: überrachende for überraschende. (EDWARD P. ARBEZ)

LEARNED, ELLEN CRAVEN. *Finding the Way. A Tribute to His Eminence the Late Cardinal Merry del Val.* (New York: Parish Visitors of Mary. 1940. Pp. 107. $1.00.) This brochure is a convert's memoirs of Rome, and particularly of the part played by Cardinal Merry del Val as her spiritual adviser and friend. It contains many letters to and from the cardinal, records of conversations, and descriptions of papal ceremonies which somewhat recall the enthusiasm and minuteness of the *Peregrinatio Silviae*. (JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT)

LOGAN, RAYFORD W. *The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with Haiti, 1776-1891.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1941. Pp. xv, 516. $5.00.) This is a detailed and thoroughly documented review of diplomatic relations between the most powerful of American states and an island republic that ranks among the weakest nations of the western hemisphere. The present relative situation of the two governments is in ironic contrast to their position at the inception of relations between them. While continental colonials fought for independence, commercial support from the island of Santo Domingo was of great importance in the struggle against Great Britain.

The intervening changes that took place in their internal politics were reflected in their relationships one with the other. American continental imperialism looms large in the story of United States contacts with Haiti, both before and after the establishment of Haitian independence. The strategic position of Haiti with reference to areas of primary importance for American defense and commerce has endowed the relations between the two states with an importance they would not otherwise have enjoyed. The complicated history of these relations is here set forth in readable style and with laudable accuracy. The book is annotated in a way to satisfy the most meticulous scholar, and may be safely characterized as a definitive study of a previously neglected field of American foreign relations. (JOHN J. MENG)

MAGNER, JAMES A. *For God and Democracy.* (New York: Macmillan Co. Pp. 158. $1.50.) It is apparently Dr. Magner's contention that civic duty consists of two parts: knowledge and will, and so he divides up this excellent handbook of what might be called Catholic civics into two parts:

Catholic attitudes in a democracy, and Catholic action in a democracy. The division naturally entails some repetition, but in a book like this that can hardly be called a defect. It is expressly addressed to Catholics and it aims at making a synthesis of two related concepts: the Catholic idea of the state and the American idea of democracy. It is his happy conclusion to find that the Catholic is at home in a democracy and that the American will find the meaning of democracy in Catholicism. Written in a serene and sometimes even inspiring style, the book will find many useful purposes. One may quote the conclusion of the first part as an example:

> Democracy, like the Mystical Body of Christ, to which it may well be compared, is composed of many interdependent members. Like any solid organic structure, it is supported and held together, not by a series of makeshifts or compromises, but by sound and well-planned foundations and interlocking parts. The whole cannot do without the parts or the superstructure without the pillars. It is towards the maintenance of these pillars upon the sound rock foundations of human dignity and divine sanctions that Catholics must pledge themselves—that through the service of our fellow man, whom we must love as ourselves, we may attain to the full stature of sons of God and heirs of heaven—that through the example of peace, compassion, and universal bounty, "this nation shall under God," in the words of Lincoln, "have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from this earth."

The second part of the book will be found especially valuable in school and study club, particularly the chapters on Civic Life, Social Justice, Cultural Advance, and World Peace. We have too few writings that attempt to correlate political and religious life. Dr. Magner's work can well be recommended for this valuable purpose. (WILFRID PARSONS)

MITCHELL, H., M.A. *The Economics of Ancient Greece.* (New York: Macmillan Co.; Cambridge: At the University Press. 1940. Pp. xii, 415. $4.00.) The title of the present volume is more comprehensive than its contents since the author thought it best to end his survey of Greek economic life with the conquests of Alexander. The development of the Hellenistic age seemed to him too great and far-reaching to be conveniently included in a book of this size. Within these limits he endeavors to give in short compass the results of modern research and the conclusions of scholars working in this fascinating field. After an introductory chapter on the background of Greek economics he presents a vivid picture of agriculture, mining and minerals, labor, industry, commerce, trade, money and banking, and public finance in ancient Greece. The book fills a serious gap in English literature. It is the first attempt of its kind since Boeckh a hundred and twenty years ago published his *Political Economy of the Athenians,* and therefore most welcome. Unfortunately Dr. Mitchell's work has one shortcoming. No picture or plate has been added to illustrate the written word. More than once contemporary monuments and coins are mentioned, but no reproduction gives an impression of them. A glance at M. Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* with its sixty plates of illustrations may convince him how much his work would have gained by the addition of archaeological material. May that be suggested for a second edition? (JOHANNES QUASTEN)

McIlwain, Charles H. *Constitutionalism, Ancient and Modern.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1940. Pp. ix, 162. $2.50.) This volume comprises six lectures given at Cornell University as the 1938-39 series of Messenger Lectures on the Evolution of Civilization. Professor McIlwain has put his scholarly competence to the task of elucidating the salient principles of constitutionalism in its growth from the time of the Greeks to the present. The chief distinction to emerge in the history of constitutionalism is that between constitution conceived merely as the "substantive principles to be deduced from a nation's actual institutions" and constitution conceived as "the conscious formulation by the people of its fundamental law". It was the Roman law and lawyers which prepared the way for this progress toward political liberty—a thesis which Professor McIlwain persuasively argues against the generally current theory that the source of modern absolutism is to be found in the doctrines of the Roman law. The Middle Ages, which preserved and fostered the tradition of constitutional liberty, contributed a further significant principle to the notion of constitutionalism, namely, the distinction between *jurisdictio* and *gubernaculum*, in the latter of which alone the king had a *plentitudo potestatis*.

The distinctly modern contribution to this development has been the establishment of legal sanctions against political authority. The problems of United States constitutionalism can rightly be appreciated only in the light of the western European tradition of constitutionalism, and particularly, suggests Professor McIlwain, in the light of the mediaeval distinction between *jurisdictio* and *gubernaculum*. Some of our constitutional difficulties, however, are to be found not in the limitations imposed upon government for the safeguarding of private rights, but in the division of sovereign powers and the unique kind of limitation which this principle of the compact philosophy entails. (Charles N. R. McCoy)

O'Neill, Edward H. *Biography by Americans, 1658-1936.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1939. Pp. x, 465. $4.00.) Much careful work was put into this subject bibliography of some 7000 entries. In the case of important subjects the compiler's plan was to list only the important titles. Yet there are 120 listings on Lincoln, 91 of Washington, 37 of Theodore Roosevelt, 30 of Franklin, 29 of Andrew Jackson, and one less of Jefferson. There are many references to Henry Clay, but the two most recent and most satisfactory lives, by Bernard Mayo and G. G. Van Deusen (both 1937), are omitted. No record is made of autobiographies, diaries, and journals. The information given covers title, author, place and date of publication, and number of pages. It is unfortunate that the date of publication, as given is not that of the original printing but "of the edition available".

The book is divided into two parts: the first records individual biographies; the second enumerates collections of biographies, such as the *Dictionary of American Biography*, etc. The arrangement of the first part is alphabetical according to the subject of the biographies; unfortunately there is no index of authors. The titles of the second part are numbered, which device permits cross-reference in Part I.

Only after use of such a compilation will serious omissions or needed corrections be brought to light. As it stands the volume will prove a useful reference list. The first testing shows the number and importance of Catholic subjects to be adequate. (LEO F. STOCK.)

REID, IRA DE A. *The Negro Immigrant; His Background, Characteristics and Social Adjustments, 1899-1937.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. Pp. 261. $3.50.) This is a careful and scientific study of a minor social phenomenon. In 1930 there were 98,620 foreign-born Negroes in the United States. Their number has been increasing since 1900 more rapidly than foreign-born whites and native-born Negroes. The great majority of recent Negro immigrants have come from the British West Indies. They thus fall under the British quota. About two-thirds of all foreign-born Negroes live in New York City. The balance live in the northeast mostly.

Dr. Reid gives a full analysis of the available statistical data on his topic; but he does not limit himself to them. He makes good use of obscure and ephemeral documentary sources and supplements them at every point by his personal observations. His most interesting chapters deal with the present adjustment of these immigrants. They are bearers of an alien culture, quite different from that of the average American-born Negro. The result is a culture conflict; but this conflict is beneficial in the long run in Dr. Reid's opinion. "Painful to native and foreign alike, though the adjustment may be, it does effect a more virile, a less narrow-minded Negro population in the United States."

The study shows care and balance throughout. An appendix gives full statistical tables and there is a full bibliography. Dr. Reid's book should long remain the standard treatment of the subject. (PAUL HANLY FURFEY)

ROSE, J. HOLLAND, A. P. NEWTON, and E. A. BENIANS (General Editors). *The Cambridge History of the British Empire.* Volume II. *The Growth of the New Empire, 1783-1870.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. xii, 1068. $10.50.) It is obviously impossible to do justice to this volume in a brief notice. We have here the last but one of the monumental eight volume work on the origins and development of the British empire in all its various units. Volume III, which will carry the story from 1870 to 1921, is all that is remaining to be published. The present work, which treats of the empire's development from the Treaty of Paris in 1783 to the period of the New Imperialism, is a model of thoroughness in make-up. A bibliography of a hundred twenty pages with classified materials in manuscript, contemporary writings, recent works, and periodical literature makes the volume invaluable to scholars working in the history of colonialism and imperialism. Of the twenty-three chapters, two treat of the problems of slavery, nine chapters in whole or in part deal with imperial administration and colonial government, four chapters are devoted to economic issues, four to Anglo-French rivalries, and one each to international law within the empire and imperial defense. Of the authors of these individual chapters all save two are English scholars, the late Ernest Scott of the University of Melbourne having written on transportation, and one American scholar, Professor Paul Knaplund of the University of Wisconsin, contributing the chapter

on "Colonial Problems and Colonial Policy, 1815-1837." One of the outstanding features of this solid work is the richness of its documentation. The interested student can easily track down the sources so generously cited in the footnotes.

Readers of the REVIEW will be interested in the rather full treatment accorded to the missionary efforts in different parts of the empire, but they will be disappointed to find that little or no notice is taken of the Catholic missionary work of the first half of the nineteenth century. For example, there is not so much as a mention of the labors of the Oblates of St. Francis de Sales in India after 1845, nor the remarkable achievements of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in areas as far apart as Ceylon and the northern stretches of Canada by the middle of the century. This is an unfortunate omission. Speaking of the projected plan for union of the Canadas in 1822 and its accompanying scheme "for bringing the Roman Catholic Church in Canada under the Act of Supremacy," Professor Knaplund says the union failed, and he adds: "It is doubtful if the proposal concerning the Roman Church could have functioned" (p. 295). It was not only doubtful, it was impossible, and still have it a part of the Catholic Church. One would like to know why France in 1826 felt that the Jesuits in particular "taxed her energies" (p. 253). Likewise one should wish to have more specific data on the "intrigues of the Pope" in Corsica in 1794 (p. 53). There is a magnificent index of sixty-two pages which makes the volume readily usable. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

SPURLIN, PAUL MERRILL. *Montesquieu in America, 1760-1801.* [Romance Language Series. No. 4.] (University: Louisiana State University Press. 1940. Pp. xi, 302. $3.00.) Montesquieu never visited America, but his writings did. The story of how they journeyed from colony to colony, and later from state to state, during the forty formative years of the American Union is here set forth with a wealth of documentation that excites admiration in the heart of the researcher and a faint boredom in the mind of the casual reader.

Lest the above be taken amiss, justice requires the acknowledgment that Dr. Spurlin has well performed a needed service in assessing the extent of the diffusion of Montesquieu's ideas in America. As he points out, the same service remains to be done for Voltaire and Rousseau.

Of particular value to the historian is the chapter devoted to the rôle of Montesquieu in American thought after the inauguration of the federal government. As the author concludes that chapter, "the thoughts of Americans ... were also the teachings of Montesquieu" (p. 257). This book does not attempt to study the "influence" of Montesquieu on American institutions, but seeks to provide "a more comprehensive basis for future opinions and decisions as regards influence by ascertaining as exactly as possible the part of Montesquieu in ... 'the harmonizing sentiments of the day'" (p. 258).

The material is here in profusion, ready for the historian and the political scientist to work when and if American utilization of other writers of the period is as thoroughly studied and documented as Montesquieu now is. (JOHN J. MENG)

STAFFORD, PAUL TUTT. *Government and the Needy.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 328. $3.00.) While this book is primarily an exhaustive study of public relief in the state of New Jersey, it deals with most of the fundamental problems which must be faced eventually by our entire national relief program. The book is the result of a long and exhaustive investigation by a writer thoroughly qualified for the task. Professor Stafford directed the field work in the recent survey of relief administration in New Jersey made by the Brookings Institution.

Part One discusses the historical development of public poor relief in New Jersey from 1609 to 1940; Part Two examines the present system in operation and a brief third part makes constructive proposals for reform.

Professor Stafford shows plainly how our whole relief program, from the earliest years of our history, has been based on an untenable thesis: that our *laissez-faire* economic order made unnecessary any permanent and large-scale public effort on behalf of the able-bodied unemployed. On the other hand, he realizes full well the dangers to our democratic institutions arising inevitably once a large portion of the population is doomed to exist only by grace of government subsidies.

The author's main criticism of the present relief system is the diffusion of responsibility and the assumption of the impermanence of the relief program. As he says, "The veritable labyrinth of agencies and services makes intelligent understanding of present problems and needs either by the citizenry or their elected representatives virtually impossible.... The system literally defies public comprehension; it is a source of mystery to most legislators."

It is interesting to note that Professor Stafford recommends very strongly a return to the family unit as the basis for all relief instead of the present policy under which two or three quite unrelated agencies will be involved in the care of different members of the same family.

Government and the Needy is one of the most comprehensive, well-written, and useful surveys of the relief program that this reviewer has yet seen. Legislators in particular should study carefully the recommendations made by the author. (WALTER JOHN MARX)

VIAU, JOSEPH M. *Hours and Wages in American Organized Labor.* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1939. Pp. ix, 301. $2.50.) The purpose of this publication is to describe historically the attempts of organized labor to procure shorter hours, higher wages, and more desirable working conditions by means of collective bargaining and legislation. The attempts of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor are presented; the earlier attempts of the unions are not considered. The opposition of organized employers to reduction of hours and increases in wages is typified by the activities of the National Association of Manufacturers; other employer organizations are not considered. The position of the Church is described by a summary of the relevant parts of *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadregesimo Anno.* The author was too ambitious. Had the effort been directed to some one aspect of the original purpose, it would have been much better spent. The result is a rather amateurish production characterized by errors of fact, needless citation of secondary sources, and poor editing. (GEORGE T. BROWN)

VIELLIARD, JEANNE. *Le Guide du pèlerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle: Texte latin du xii^e siècle édité et traduit en français d'après les manuscrits de Compostelle et de Ripoll.* (Macon: Protat Frères. 1938. Pp. xvii, 150.) *The Pilgrim's Guide* forms the fifth book of the so-called Codex of Calixtus II in the archives of the cathedral of Compostela. This twelfth century Baedeker gives the route from France to Santiago and a description of Compostela and its basilica. English readers had access to the section dealing with the city and shrine in a translation by K. Conant in his *Architectural History of the Cathedral of Compostela.* The only previous edition of the Latin text, by Fita and Vinson in 1882, was difficult to find and needed correction. Mlle Vielliard disclaims exhaustive search for manuscripts. Her edition is preceded by a short but meaty introduction. There and in the abundant notes accompanying the text is displayed the erudition that always characterizes her work. When she has doubts about her French translation she warns the reader and gives the reason for her decision. Two maps enable one to follow the *Guide.* There are several cuts, an appendix with two further brief texts concerning Compostela, and an index. The present edition will introduce many to this precious source and will greatly aid research, of which the *Guide* has long been the object. (ALOYSIUS K. ZIEGLER)

WALBANK, F. W. *Philip V of Macedon.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1940. Pp. xi, 387. $4.00.) This scholarly, well-written work of Dr. Walbank, lecturer in Latin in the University of Liverpool, was the Cambridge Hare Prize Essay of 1939. Appealing directly to historians of the ancient world, the book ought also to be of interest to the lay-reader interested in Balkan history.

Ironically, Philip V claims his place in world history not for his renowned energy, speed, and enterprise, nor for the fact that at first he was the "darling of Greece", later a threat to Italy and Asia respectively, and died with his eyes fixed on the Balkans dreaming of a new and formidable empire, but rather, and solely, as the unwitting instrument who cleared the path for the spread of Greek culture to Rome and western civilization (p. 275). The period of Philip V's long reign of forty-two years (221-179 B. C.) coincides with the beginnings and development of Roman influence in Greece. Much of the writing on this period to date treats Macedon from the Roman standpoint. Mr. Walbank considers Philip's viewpoint, the social and political framework of Macedon, and their effects on Macedonian policy towards Greece, Italy Asia Minor, and finally the Balkans.

The picture drawn of Philip is accurate and clear, based on a critical use of the best sources. The work contains eight chapters: the background of Macedonian history and Philip's early years; policy to the south (Social War); policy in the west (First Roman War); policy in the east (the Aegean and Asia Minor); Macedonian defense against the Romans; Rome and Philip against Antiochus; policy in the north (reconstruction of Macedon and Balkan policy). The appendix contains articles on the source material, the army under Philip V, and chronological problems. There are also a table of dates, an excellent bibliography, two plates, and ten maps. (CHARLES W. REINHARDT)

WILLIAMS, WATKIN. *Monastic Studies.* [Publications of the University of Manchester No. CCLXII, Historical Series No. LXXVI.] (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1938. Pp. 199. 10/6.) Mr. Williams' splendid volume on St. Bernard of Clairvaux was reviewed in the *Catholic Historical Review* (October, 1938, XXIV, 406-407). It is a pleasure, therefore, to write a notice on another book from his pen. The present work contains fourteen studies centering chiefly on St. Bernard. With two exceptions they have already appeared in scholarly journals in the period from 1928 to 1936. The studies are as follows: I. Three Merovingian Foundations (1. Moûtier-Saint-Jean; 2. Saint-Seine; 3. Bèze); II. Cluny (1. Origins; 2. The Second Abbot; 3. Papal Exemption); III. A Great Economist; IV. The First Cistercian Eras; V. The Exordium Magnum Cisterciense; VI. A Diologue Between a Cluniac and a Cistercian; VII. The Charta Charitatis; VIII. St. Benedict of Aniane; IX. William of Dyon; X. St. Robert of Molesme; XI. Peter the Venerable; XII. The Anchin Manuscript, Douai 372; XIII. The Codex Aureaevallensis; XIV. The Ethical Aspect of the Mysticism of St. Bernard.

The book, under the circumstances, contains almost no new material, but it is very convenient to have these hitherto widely scattered articles brought together in a modest volume. The studies are, in general, short—sometimes too short—but they reveal the same high standard of scholarship and the same warm sympathy with the subject matter which characterize the author's *St. Bernard.* The book is accurately printed and has an adequate index. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

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The Usefulness of Useless History [The place of "background history"]. Robert L. Schuyler (*Political Science Quarterly*, Mar.).

Biography in the Teaching of History. W. B. Faherty (*Social Studies*, Mar.).

The Function of Church History Studies in the Liturgical Movement. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr. (*Anglican Theological Review*, Apr.).

Volkskunde u. politische Geschichte. O. Höfler (*Historische Zeitschrift*, 162, 1).

The Meaning of Romanticism for the Historian of Ideas. Arthur O. Lovejoy (*Journal of the History of Ideas*, June).

The Economic Philosophy of Romanticism. Goetz A. Briefs (*ibid.*).

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The Nationality of Philosophy and Bertrando Spaventa. Marcel Grilli (*ibid.*).

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Notes on Incidental Gospel Quotations in Jerome's Commentary on St. Matthew's Gospel. A. Souter (*Journal of Theological Studies*, Jan.).

Private Penance in the Early Church. G. H. Joyce, S.J. (*ibid.*).

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Alberic of Monte Cassino and Reginald of Canterbury. R. W. Hunt (*ibid.*).

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Note on Books Bequeathed by John of Salisbury to the Cathedral Library of Chartres. Clement C. J. Webb (*ibid.*).

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The Early Interpretation of Poyning's Law, 1494-1534. David B. Quinn (Irish *Hist. Studies*, Mar.).
Strategy and Tactics in Irish Warfare, 1593-1601. G. A. Hayes-McCoy (*ibid.*).
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John Cotton and Roger Williams: Their Controversy concerning Religious Liberty. Elisabeth F. Hirsch (*Church History*, Mar.).
Notes from a Mission Log Book [Incidents from Jesuit Relations]. Peter Simon (*Month*, Jan.-Feb.).
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BOOKS RECEIVED

Allison, John, M.S. (Ed.), *Concerning the Education of a Prince. Correspondence of the Princess of Nassau-Saarbruck. 13 June-15 November 1758.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. 48. $2.00.) This slender volume represents some correspondence between Diderot and the Princess of Nassau-Saarbruck over Diderot's play, *Le Père de Famille*, published in June, 1758. Professor Allison of Yale furnishes an edition of the correspondence with an introductory essay which gives background for the discussion in the letters on the play and the qualities of the ideal prince.

Artz, Frederick B., *The Intellectual History of Europe from Saint Augustine to Marx. A Guide.* (Boston: Ginn & Co. 1941. Pp. xix, 140. $1.75.)

Bingham, Woodbridge, *The Founding of the T'Ang Dynasty. The Fall of Sui and Rise of T'Ang. A Preliminary Survey.* (Baltimore: Waverly Press Inc. 1941. Pp. xiv, 183. $3.50.) The American Council of Learned Societies here publishes No. 4 in its Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations. The volume contains six appendices, a bibliography, index, and three maps. This monograph on the seventh century Chinese ruler is written by the assistant professor of Far Eastern history in the University of California.

Boughton, Willis A., *The Archbishop Sails for Rome.* (Dallas, Texas: Kaleidograph Press. 1941. Pp. 76. $1.50.)

Burns, Edward McNall, *Western Civilizations. Their History and Their Culture.* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc. 1941. Pp. xx, 926. $4.35.) This volume is another textbook designed to serve the introductory course in history for college freshmen. It carries the story of western civilization from the Eolithic period down to the collapse of France in June, 1940. The author is assistant professor of history in Rutgers University.

Campos, Ernesto de Souza, *Educação Superior No Brasil.* (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Grafico do Ministério da Educação. 1940. Pp. 611.)

Castillero R., Ernesto J., *Historia de la Comunicación Interoceánica y de su influencia en la formación y en el desarrollo de la Entidad Nacional Panameña.* (Panama: 1941. Pp. xiv, 444.)

Christensen, A. N. and E. M. Kirkpatrick, *The People, Politics, and the Politician. Readings in American Government.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1941. Pp. x, 1001. $3.25.) This volume is an edition of pertinent readings on the American government and its relations to most of the outstanding problems and activities of national life. They are taken in the main from the works of men still living. The editors are assistant professors of political science in the University of Minnesota.

Curley, Michael J., C.SS.R., *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas (1783-1822).* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 1940. Pp. xi, 380. $2.00.)

De Mesquita, D. M. Bueno, *Giangalcazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan (1351-1402). A study in the political career of an Italian despot.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1941. Pp. x, 408. $4.50.)

Eguiguren, Luis Antonio, *Diccionario Hystorico Cronologico de la Universidad Real Pontificia de San Marcos.* (Lima, Peru: Imp. Torres Aguirre. 1940. Pp. ccxciii, 1133.)

Ely, Sister Aimee, F.C.S.P., *The Youth Problem and the Education of the Catholic Girl.* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 1941. Pp. xx, 136. $1.50.)

Emery, Richard Wilder, *Heresy and Inquisition in Narbonne.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. 184. $2.50.)

Faulkner, Harold Underwood, *American Political and Social History.* 2nd edition. (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1941. Pp. xxv, 804. $3.75.) A second edition of a volume in the Crofts American History Series edited by Dixon Ryan Fox.

Fell, Sister Marie Leonore, *The Foundations of Nativism in American Textbooks, 1783-1822.* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 259. $2.00.)

Garrett, Mitchell B., *European History, 1500-1815.* (New York: American Book Co. 1940. Pp. xii, 715. $4.00.) This volume by the professor of Modern European history in the University of North Carolina, is intended to fulfill the needs of a text for the general survey of modern Europe given in many colleges to freshmen and sophomores. It is equipped with the usual reading lists by chapters, numerous illustrations, and fifteen maps.

Gilson, Étienne, *God and Philosophy.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941. Pp. xviii, 147. $2.00.) The present volume of Professor Gilson is based upon the four Powell Lectures on philosophy which he delivered at Indiana University as visiting professor during the year 1939-1940.

Hall, Walter Phelps and William Stearns Davis, *The Course of Europe Since Waterloo.* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1941. Pp. xviii, 901. $4.00.) A new textbook in the history of Europe from 1815 to the signing of the lend-lease bill on March 11, 1941 by the Dodge professor of history in Princeton University. The volume was constructed in part on the work of the late Professor Davis of the University of Minnesota, *Europe Since Waterloo,* published in 1926. It belongs to the Century Historical series, edited by William E. Lingelbach. It is divided into thirty-seven chapters and provided with thirty-seven maps, forty-three illustrations with explanatory notes, a bibliography, and an index. Readers of this journal will be interested in the thirty-page chapter on "Science and Religion in the Nineteenth Century," to which they will offer a few minor objections, though the general tone of the chapter is quite fair.

Hallett, P. E. (Ed.), *St. Thomas More's History of the Passion.* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd. 1941. Pp. xxii, 134. 6s.) This latest addition to the modern edition of the works of St. Thomas More is, like its predecessors, most welcome. Monsignor Hallett has modernized the spelling and written a scholarly introductory essay on this, the last of More's many writings. Anything that sheds new light or gives more widespread circulation to the thoughts of St. Thomas More will be gratifying to historians as well as to those interested solely in spiritual literature. The present work was translated from the Latin by More's granddaughter, Mary Basset. The first part was published in 1557 in Rastell's *English Works* of More; and the second part appeared in the *Latin Works* in 1556, published at Louvain. The little treatise, which does not go beyond the taking of Christ in the garden, was written by St. Thomas More while a prisoner in the Tower, and was interrupted at that point by his jailors depriving him of all writing materials.

Haines, C. Grove and Warren B. Walsh, *The Development of Western Civilization.* (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1941. Pp. xvi, 1062. $4.50.)

Hart, Charles A. (Ed.), *Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association.* Vol. XVI. *The Problem of Liberty.* Sixteenth Annual Meeting, Detroit, Michigan. December 30-31, 1940. Washington: Office of the Secretary of the Association. The Catholic University of America. 1941. Pp. 293.) A series of papers on liberty from the philosophical

viewpoint. Historians will be interested in tracing the influence of ideas on historical movements.

Hayes, Dorsha, *The American Primer.* (New York; Alliance Book Corp. 1941. Pp. 152. $1.50.) A patriotic little volume written to demonstrate the blessings enjoyed by Americans in all walks of life as compared to the less fortunate elsewhere. A forward is contributed by Oliver La Farge.

Hermens, F. A., *Democracy or Anarchy? A Study of Proportional Representation.* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Review of Politics. University of Notre Dame. 1941. Pp. xxx, 447. $4.00.)

Hume, Edgar Erskine, *General Washington's Correspondence concerning the Society of the Cincinnati.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1941. Pp. xliv, 472. $4.50.)

Jones, Tom B., *A Short History of Civilization.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1941. Pp. xiii, 378. $2.25.). A text designed for the opening portion of the survey course in the history of civilization by the assistant professor of history in the University of Minnesota.

Lanctot, Gustave, Keeper of Public Records, *Report of the Public Archives of the Dominion of Canada,* 1940. (Ottawa: 1941. Pp. xxiii, 108. $.50.)

Langsam, Walter Consuelo, *Since 1939: A Narrative of War.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1941. Pp. 103. $.60.) This brochure is published as a supplement to the author's *The World Since 1914.*

McCulloch, Margaret C., *Fearless Advocate of the Right. The Life of Francis Julius Le Moyne, M.D., 1798-1879.* (Boston: Christopher Publishing House. 1941. Pp. xi, 279. $2.00.) A biography of the founder of Le Moyne College for the colored at Memphis, and an influential member of the American Missionary Association for the evangelization of the Negroes. The work is one of a scholarly character, well documented, and contains a bibliography and a brief index. The author herself taught at Le Moyne College for some time.

McKenna, Stephen, C.SS.R., *Everyone's Madonna: The Spread of Devotion to Our Lady of Perpetual Help, 1866-1941.* (Boston: Mission Church Press, 1545 Tremont Street. Pp. 55.)

Mulholland, Sister Mary Ambrose, B.V.M. (Ed.), *Early Gild Records of Toulouse.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. li, 193. $3.00.)

Noyes, Alfred, *If Judgment Comes. A Poem.* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1941. Pp. 46. $1.50.)

O'Toole, George Barry, *War and Conscription at the Bar of Christian Morals.* (New York: Catholic Worker Press. 1941. Pp. 90. $.15.)

Phillips, Bayton, *Beguines in Medieval Strasburg, A Study of the Social Aspect of Beguine Life.* (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 252. $1.00.)

Ryan, Granger, and Helmut Ripperger, (Trans. and Adapt.), *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1941. Pp. xxi, 356. $3.00.)

Ryan, John A., *Social Doctrine in Action, a Personal History.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1941. Pp. vii, 297. $3.00.)

Sargent, Daniel, *Christopher Columbus.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1941. Pp. ix, 214. $2.50.)

Schapiro, J. Salwyn, *Modern and Contemporary European History (1815-1940).* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1940. Pp. xii, 903. xxiv. $3.75.) This is a new edition of the textbook of Professor Schapiro which first appeared in 1934.

Smith, Theodore Clarke, *The United States as a Factor in World History.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1941. Pp. viii, 142. $1.00.) This volume is the most recent addition to the Berkshire Studies in European History. The author is professor emeritus of United States history in Williams College.

Spinka, Matthew in collaboration with Glanville Downey. *Chronicle of John Malalas.* Books VIII-XVIII. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1940. Pp. vi, 150. $1.50.)

Stephenson, Carl, *A Brief Survey of Mediaeval Europe.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1941. Pp. xviii, 426. $2.25.) The author's *Mediaeval History* condensed to accommodate the needs of a course in civilization. There are some improvements especially in the presentation of intellectual, social, and economic history. The plates are unchanged. Like the larger work, it is much better than other texts in the field as regards the Catholic Church. A few judicious corrections appear in the new book. Catholic teachers can easily change the emphasis and add details or explanation when necessary.

Swift, Jonathan, *An Argument to prove that the abolishing of Christianity in England, May, as things now stand, be attended with some Inconveniences, and perhaps not produce those many Good Effects proposed thereby.* [1708]. (Harrington Park, New Jersey: The 5 x 8 Press. 1941. Pp. 30. $.35.)

Weale, J. Cyril M., (Ed.), *Registers of the Catholic Chapels Royal and of the Portuguese Embassy Chapel 1662-1829.* Vol. I. *Marriages.* (London: John Whitehead & Son Ltd. for 1938-1939. Privately printed for the Catholic Record Society. Pp. xxxii, 218, 29.)